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THE MIRROR OF OXFORD

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.]

General View of Oxford.
(From an old print.)

[*Frontispiece.*

THE MIRROR OF OXFORD

BY C. B. DAWSON, S.J., M.A.

(EXETER COLLEGE)

WITH FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

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PREFACE

WITHIN the past few years so much has been written, and excellently written, about Oxford and its colleges, by minor historians, that another new book on the same subject may well expect to be challenged to give the *raison d'être* of its existence.

Much indeed has been written, but it has all been written to harmonise with the Protestant tradition. In the otherwise admirable guides to Oxford already existing, this is conspicuously the case. Wherever questions arise regarding the religious storm which burst over the University in the sixteenth century, statements are made, and inferences drawn, which in the light of present knowledge can no longer be sustained. Much, too, is said which to the adherents of the old religion is needlessly offensive: and on the other hand much that is deeply interesting to them is left untold.

Now that religious disabilities are removed, and all the privileges of Oxford life are once again open to Catholic students, the time seems opportune for providing Catholic visitors with a story of the University written by a sympathetic hand.

So at least thought the present writer, returning to his *Alma mater* after a lapse of twenty years. And the activity of the Oxford Historical Society within this same period has made the task a comparatively easy one. Even so, before the work was completed to the writer's satisfaction, he was called abroad again. However, he hopes that until a work appears more worthy of the subject, the present endeavour, with all its limitations and imperfections, may supply the place.

I have to thank the Rev. G. Joyce, S.J., M.A., and other friends, who, on account of my having been called away from England, kindly corrected the proof sheets, and added the index. Another friend, also an Oxford man, who does not wish his name to appear, has selected and arranged the illustrations. Several of these are from my own camera.

C. B. D.

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THE MIRROR OF OXFORD

I

BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW

THE history of Oxford reaches back through the twilight of fable into the deep darkness of oblivion.

The earliest form in which the name of the city appears is "Oxanaforda." Yet the seemingly obvious derivation, "ford of the oxen," is now generally rejected. It is more probable that the first syllable of the name is derived from the British word "wyse signifying "water": we find the word in the names of many English streams as "Ouse," "Usk," "Esk," "Ock," etc. This derivation receives confirmation from the fact that one of the islands formed by the confluence of the many streams into which the Thames is here divided, bears the name of Osney (formerly "Ousen-eye," "Osen-eia" *i.e.*, the isle of the Ouse. Indeed it is contended that the word Thames (Tam-ese, Tam-oise) contains in its second syllable the same root. Our Saxon forefathers would scarcely have given to any ford the name "ford of the oxen," for they did not keep herds of cattle at all, but only sheep and swine.

It will be seen from the map, that the Thames, flowing

along the west and half-way along the south of the city, breaks up like a portal vein into several streams, the main channel of which receives the classic name of "The Isis." Its waters are augmented by an important tributary, the Cherwell, which, flowing along the east to the south of the city, bends westwards by a modern artificial cut, and joins the Thames in Christ Church Meadows. The rivers and streams, together with the outlying marshes, formed in ancient times an almost sufficient protection against tribal invasion, and thus fixed the site of the future city and university.

The earliest reliable history of Oxford is practically the history of its patroness St Frideswide. The exact year of her birth is not known, but the received opinion is that her life did not extend beyond the first half of the eighth century. Her story, as narrated by the fourteenth and fifteenth century biographers, makes her the daughter of Didan, the sub-regulas or petty-king of the Oxford district. On the death of his wife Safrida, the pious Didan built within the city walls a monastery and church, dedicated to St Mary and All Saints, as a retreat for his daughter, who, with twelve companions, had vowed her virginity to God. Her resolution to quit the world was opposed by Algar the Lord of Leicester, who sent men to carry her from her convent by force, "for she was accounted the flower of all those parts." But his messengers were smitten with blindness upon attempting to lay hands upon her, and recovered their sight only at the intercession of the saint; this warning did not deter Algar, who came in person to effect his design; but he too was struck blind when passing through the north gate of the city. This incident is supposed to have given rise to the belief that no king of England might with impunity enter the city of St Frideswide—a belief which persisted into the days of the Plantagenets, and which is said to have been of sufficient force to impress King Edward I. While Algar was yet on his way, the holy virgin with two companions had escaped by boat to a place called Bentona.

Benson or Bensington has been suggested as marking the place of her retreat, but its distance from the city exceeds the 10 miles said to separate Bentona from Oxford: a Balliol manuscript life reads Bendona, and into this some writers have sought to read Abingdon. For three years she remained in concealment and then returned to Oxford, but soon withdrew to the neighbouring Binsey, where on a piece of land known as Thornbury or Thornebirie she is said to have erected a small oratory of boughs and osiers, and to have caused by her prayers a stream of water to well forth. This fountain, called Marywel, was dedicated by St Frideswide to St Margaret, and became a famous place of pilgrimage even in the lifetime of our saint. So great was the concourse of her devout clients that many hospices were erected near the oratory, and a bridge was thrown across the river near Binsey for the convenience of pilgrims from Eynsham and the hamlets lying to the east of Oxford. A statue of St Frideswide which for long surmounted the well was destroyed in 1639 by a zealous alderman; thereafter the well fell into utter neglect and was lost sight of until a few years ago, when, through the labour and care of the then incumbent of the living, the spot was again disclosed and put into decent repair. At her death, the saint's body was carried to her father's church of St Mary and All the Saints. It is worthy of note that the authoritative title of the church became altered in popular usage to the "Church of St Frideswide." Her shrine here, like her well at Binsey, was the centre of a wide-spread cultus. We are told that King Henry III., in the year 1246, came in person to pay reverence at the shrine of St Frideswide *quod nullus regum Angliae ante ipsum audere praesumpsit.* Wood tells us that in 1268, upon Ascension Day, the Chancellor of the University, accompanied by the scholars and the clergy of the city, went, *according to custom*, to visit the shrine of St Frideswide as the mother-church of the University. Hither, too, flocked the common people, "with great confidence, seeking comfort in

their sorrows and counsel in their perplexities." The story of the shrine after it passed out of Catholic hands may be briefly told.

Henry VIII. was not slow to seize upon the rich offerings that witnessed to the gratitude of the saint's clients. A few years later a still greater insult was to come. The renegade friar Vermigli (Peter Martyr) caused the woman with whom he had gone through the form of marriage to be buried close to the body of the saint. Queen Mary on her accession to the throne showed her resentment against this act by ordering the body to be removed, and the dean of Christ Church in the excess of his zeal buried it in a dunghill. Again, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, the new dean, Calfhill, a zealous reformer, had the body once more replaced, and the bones "soe coupled and mixt" with the relics of the saint as to be indistinguishable. The Protestants applauded this outrage, and the epitaph "Here lieth religion with superstition," passed current amongst them in reference to it. But it does not seem to be the case that, as often stated, the words were inscribed on the tomb. It is useful to recount these acts as showing the spirit of the age, and of the men who then guided or misguided the fortunes of our country.

It would appear that soon after the death of St Frideswide, her convent or nunnery, on account of the frequent incursions of the Danes, who at this time were pagans, was changed into a house of secular canons. From the year 787, when these "heathen men" first landed only to be repulsed, the Saxon Chronicle is much occupied in recounting the reverses or triumphs of these intrepid and determined invaders. Not even Alfred the Great could wholly rid the country of them. Indeed, it would seem that shortly after his death they held Oxford and even London, for in the year 912 there is this entry: "This year died Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, and King Edward took possession of London and of Oxford

and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto." The Mercians, be it remembered, had made peace with the Danes, who used their country as a base of further operations.

From this time also Oxford began to be more strongly fortified, and it is probable that the great mound near the castle, still existing, was then made. This may be inferred from another entry in the same place running as follows: "This year Æthelfled, lady of the Mercians, came to Scargate on the holy eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and there built the burh." This energetic and warlike sister of King Edward made, as appears from other entries, many mounds and fortifications up and down the country to keep the inveterate enemy in check, notably at Tamworth and Warwick.

In spite, however, of all these precautions the Danes gained ground; so much so, that in 1002, by order of King Æthelred, a terrible massacre took place; "because," says the Chronicle, "it had been made known to the king that they would plot against his life, and afterwards against those of all his witan, and then have his realm without any gainsaying." In Oxford, at least, his orders were so rigorously carried out that "the people thereof knocking them down in heaps, those that remained and had any warning to shift for themselves betook them to the church of the monastery of St Frideswide, as into a sanctuary of venerable antiquity and privilege among ancient kings. But the fury of the English being then very great, and so consequently regarding neither place nor person, set the church on fire, wherein were burned not only the Danes who fled to it, but also many rich ornaments, and the library thereof." Great as the provocation may have been, it is impossible to justify this cowardly act. The king did penance by restoring the monastery to its pristine state, and confirming all the lands belonging to it by royal charter.

It is not surprising that reprisals should follow. In 1009, the Danes, landing on the eastern and southern coast, ravaged Hampshire and Berkshire, "and then after mid-winter, they

took an upward course, out through Chiltern, and so to Oxford, and burned that town, and then took their way, on both sides of the Thames, towards their ships," ravaging the country with fire and sword, according to their custom.

Four years later, when King Sweyn himself arrived, and one county after another submitted to him, "He then went to Oxford, and the townsmen immediately submitted and gave hostages. . . ." These successes were doubtless attributable to the incompetency both of King Æthelred, rightly called the Unready, *i.e.*, redeless, wanting in counsel, and his ealdorman Edric. In 1016 Æthelred died and was succeeded by the Ætheling Edmund; but it was only to a remnant of the kingdom, and Cnut had possession of London. Only a year did Edmund, who is described as having the spirit of Alfred the Great, sit on the throne, for he was murdered by the traitor Edric. We have the authority of Henry of Huntingdon for saying that his death occurred at Oxford. Thus the barbarous deed is described:—

"When the king, so terrible to his enemies and so much feared in his kingdom, went one night into his private chamber, the son of Ealdorman Edric, who had by the counsel of his father concealed himself there . . . stabbed the king twice with a sharp knife, leaving the instrument in the wound. . . ."

Edric then coming to his master saluted him with "Hail, thou art sole king." But Cnut was not the man to reward an act like this. He ordered the traitor to be beheaded.

By the time of the Norman Conquest Oxford had grown into a town of great importance, for there are records of "gemots" being held here, and here in 1040 King Harold Harefoot died. It was at the gemot held here in 1065 that the disastrous policy was decided upon, which resulted in the downfall of the Saxon dynasty only a year later.

There is no historical evidence to show, as is often stated, that Oxford resisted the Norman invader, except the following entry in the Domesday Survey: "In the town, as well within the wall as without, there are 243 houses paying geld, and besides these there are 478 (in the original, 'five hundred houses save twenty-two') so waste and destroyed that they cannot pay geld." From this statement it has been inferred that the town had been sacked, but the 478 houses "waste and destroyed" may be accounted for as due to other causes too lengthy to go into here.

William sent his Constable, Robert D'Oilly, as Governor of Oxford, a man well fitted to the task. It is clear that he was determined to keep the district in awe. He strongly refortified the castle: the great tower that still remains to us is but one of several which adorned it in the days of its glory. He built, or at least rebuilt with added strength, the city walls. The portions of the city wall, which are to be seen in New College Garden and elsewhere, are not, however, d'Oilly's work, but of later mediæval date. At first he treated the town with rigour and oppressed the people; but suddenly his conduct changed. It is said that this change was due to a supernatural visitation. According to the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, he took away from the monastery a certain meadow outside the walls as an exercise ground for the soldiers of the castle, whereupon the brethren prostrated themselves before St Mary's altar in supplication. In the same night Robert fell into a grievous sickness, but remained impenitent for several days. At length in a dream he saw a lady sitting on a throne, and was accused by her of robbing the monastery of the meadow, into which "very naughty boys" led him, and surrounding him with hay, set it on fire. He cried out, "Sancta Maria! have mercy on me or I shall die." This awaked his wife, who on hearing its cause, persuaded him to restore the meadow. From a plunderer of churches he became a builder and restorer, and dying, was buried by the side of his wife in the

Church of St Mary's at Abingdon. It is likely that he rebuilt the Church of St Michael, the tower of which adorns Cornmarket Street, Holy Cross at Holywell, the chancel arch of which is still intact, and St Peter's-in-the-East, the chancel of which is, not improbably, his; he also repaired, if he did not actually build, St Mary Magdalen's without the North Gate, besides his own Church of St George within the castle. In order to facilitate commerce, he threw a bridge over the river to the north of the castle, the Hythe Bridge—so called from the old English *hithe*, a landing-place—and thus the road along the north of Oxford was connected with the west.

During the able, though somewhat tyrannical rule of Robert D'Oilly, Oxford began to flourish again, and on more noble lines; under his nephew, who succeeded him, began that steady influx of the religious orders which gave the University the world-wide reputation it still retains.

In the wake of the Conqueror came a number of Jews to Oxford as to other parts of England. A community of them, with his permission, established themselves as shopkeepers and money-lenders in the parishes of St Martin, St Edward (no longer existing), and St Aldate. Here they rapidly grew rich and were the cause of, or pretext for, many quarrels with their clients or victims, the undergraduates. It was no wonder they grew rich, for in 1244 they had to be restrained by law from charging more than 43 per cent. interest on their loans. Finally they were expelled from England in the year 1289, on account of their reputed crimes. In Oxford they were charged with extorting money from the students, with forging the seal of the Abbot of Oseney, with forcibly circumcising a young scholar, and with treating the chancellor insolently. On one occasion during a church procession, a Jew who was standing at his door to watch, made his way through the bystanders, and before anyone could foresee what he was about to do, seized the crucifix and trampled it under foot. Barely did he escape with his life from the angry crowd.

The chancellor compelled him to erect a cross near where the sacrilege had been committed. In later days, during the reign of Charles I., the piece of ground which had been their cemetery was laid out as a "Physick Garden": it is now generally known as the Botanical Gardens. It lies in the right bank of the Cherwell, opposite Magdalen College, along the High.

Oxford, perhaps, began to be the home of lost causes when it espoused the cause of Matilda of Anjou. King Stephen besieged the city and castle, and took it; but not before the queen, accompanied by four knights dressed all in white, had escaped across the frozen snow-covered moat, into the white wastes beyond the vigilant sentries.

When and in what manner Oxford began to be a seat of learning has not been ascertained. The statement that there were schools in Oxford in King Alfred's time, and that he, always so eager to promote learning, established others, has no historical basis to rest upon. There is the following entry in the Saxon Chronicle: "The same year (885 A.D.) died the good Pope Martin, who freed the English school at the request of Alfred, King of the West-Saxons." But no reference is made to Oxford. Indeed, no proof remains that he ever was there; but, on the contrary, it would rather appear that the town was then in the hands of the Danes. One of these schools, said to have been thus founded, was claimed by University College in 1726 as being the beginning of their foundation, and the claim, supported by a forged deed, was actually allowed by a judgment of the Court of King's Bench.

King Henry II. built himself a royal residence, to which he gave the name of Beaumont Palace, in the fields east of Worcester College. There his sons Richard Cœur-de-Lion and John were born.

There is an epistle extant purporting to have been written by the University to Pope John XXII., pleading that "inasmuch

as they had heard that his Holiness had promoted to ecclesiastical preferments, philosophers as well as doctors of Paris, they made bold to say that Oxonian study was more ancient than that of Paris, and not inferior in dignity, although that of Paris was excellently famous": and therefore they expected the like benediction from his bounty. "For," says this spurious letter, "it is most manifest that Albinus (Alcuin) the philosopher and Catholic doctor, by birth an Englishman, master to the most famous Prince, Charles the Great, King of France, and by the said king sent for from England, was the founder of the study of Paris, which not only the English, but also the French and Roman histories do witness." Doubtless the wish was father to that fabrication; whether there was anything more substantial cannot now be said.

Though the first historical mention of students at Oxford only dates back to early in the twelfth century, that is in 1120, it is more than probable that there were students here long before that time. Some writers of weight attribute the beginnings of the University to the schools of St Frideswide's Saxon priory. But we are here in the region of conjecture.

Some have suggested that its comparative seclusion in those remote times, as also the then salubrity of its climate, were potent factors in the making of Oxford. This suggestion may, or may not, have been inspired by an old-time English verse which runs thus:—

> "He that hath Oxford seen, for beauty, grace,
> And healthiness, ne'er saw a better place.
> If God Himself abode on earth would make,
> He Oxford sure would for His dwelling take."

Anthony à Wood defines a University as "a joining together, and an incorporation under one government of many public schools in one or the same town or city," a definition which, in these days, we have somewhat outgrown. Undoubtedly the "universitas" was a development similar to

that of the various Trades' Guilds, of which there were many in the town, their object being the mutual protection of their own interests. All these guilds had their religious side, and many of them had private chapels of their own in one or other of the public churches. Thus the cordwainers and corvesors, the most ancient of them, had their chapel on the south side of St Mary Magdalen's. It is not very clear why the word "university" was chosen. Was it because all kinds of learning were professed, or because men were received from all parts, or because all the schools of the particular town or place were incorporated? Since the name was given by ecclesiastics, it is possible that, as the word "catholic" represented to their minds supremacy in things religious, they showed the homage they owed to learning by calling its "guild" by the Latinised rendering of "catholic," namely, "universitas."

The first historical mention of the "University" of Oxford is in 1214, when its charter of liberties was ratified by King John; a charter which was confirmed by the Papal Legate.

The University of Oxford first presents itself on the pages of history as essentially democratic and cosmopolitan in its constitution, if, indeed, that can be said to have had a constitution which was so loosely bound together as were the scholars and masters of Oxford in the beginning. The students came and went as they chose, and highly resented any sort of interference. A popular professor at any one of the seats of learning was sufficient to draw a crowd from all the others at a time when, throughout Europe, there was a common faith as well as a common language for the learned; and this despite the difficulties of travel. The desire to study was the only passport they needed in those early times; it was their "open sesame." In consequence, all sorts and conditions of pupils found entrance into Oxford, and many who were very undesirable from every point of view. As to lectures, it was sufficient for a scholar to intimate to the professor that he

wished to "sit at his feet"; which they did literally in those days. The earliest recorded of these professors is Theobald of Etampes, who, while Abelard was still a pupil of William of Champeaux in Paris, had under him some "sixty or a hundred clerks, more or less." The students were "clerks" or clergymen; that is to say, they received the tonsure which gave them the privilege of personal inviolability; no one could touch or harm them without incurring ecclesiastical censure. It was a privilege of which not a few proved themselves wholly unworthy; and in the hands of such, tended to accentuate unduly the distinction between Gown and Town which led to deplorable strife and bloodshed. For from time immemorial until recent times, Oxford never was the peaceful and peace-loving city that imagination might lead one to suppose a centre of learning to be. On the contrary, it was ever the scene of civic, political, or intellectual strife.

Either strife was between the various factions or nationalities among the students themselves, as for instance, between the Welsh and Southerners against the Northerners; or between the English and foreigners; or between the students and the Jews; but oftenest between the "Gownsmen and Townsmen." The former generally complained that the tradesmen and hostel-keepers made extortionate charges, and that the town was kept in a filthy condition and bred fevers; while the latter protested against the violence of the students, and the difficulty they found in getting in their just debts. It would appear that from time to time, as if to let off their exuberant spirits, the students actually sought a quarrel, so slight seems the occasion of many of them. In these bloody frays the students sometimes got much the worst of it; but in the end they won for the University those immunities and privileges it still, in great measure, enjoys.

In 1187, that is fifty years after Theobald, we find Oxford duly recognised as a university; for when Giraldus

Cambrensis, who had gained renown as a lecturer in Paris, visited Oxford for the purpose of reading his book on Ireland, because Oxford was the place "where the clergy in England chiefly flourished and excelled in clerky lore," he is reported by a contemporary to have feasted, not only the poor and the scholars, but "all the doctors of the different faculties"; and to have read his book to "a vast audience." But the University was still without definite form, and our present system of colleges was undreamt of. The students boarded where they could in hostels and inns; these eventually evolved themselves into halls under more definite management. The great influx of scholars into Oxford at this time is said to have been due to the expulsion of all the English from Paris, owing to the king's quarrel with Henry II.; the latter also ordered the return of all students to England under pain of the forfeiture of their rights and properties.

Many a time did the fate of Oxford hang in the balance. Again and again were the students driven from the city by the ravages of the plague; again and again did they fall under the displeasure of the Holy See on account of the misconduct of the majority, the city being laid under interdict and the well-affected fleeing; again and again was the University brought to the point of dissolution by political upheavals.

Never was the University nearer extinction than during the troublous reign of Henry III. In the beginning of this reign the Pope, in order to settle certain ecclesiastical disputes, sent as legate, Cardinal Otho, who visited Oseney Abbey. While there, it is related that a deputation of undergraduates waited on him to pay their respects. Now it chanced that when they arrived at the great gates, a poor man was there begging food. In the spirit of humility, the cardinal's brother, who acted as his secretary, himself presented the poor man with a bowl of soup. But the beggar was fastidious, and declined the soup with surly words, whereupon his reverence (or more probably

the cook) flung it in his face. This enraged the students, and one of them drawing his bow and levelling an arrow, shot the cardinal's brother dead on the spot. A riot followed, and the gates were with difficulty closed. The cardinal fled across the seas, and the University was put under the ban. It would appear from the story as related by Anthony à Wood, that the beggar was merely a pretext—perhaps indeed he was one of the undergraduates themselves—and that the students sought a quarrel with the foreign prelate. They considered, and with some justification, that the affairs of the English Church were being misrepresented at Rome, and that its revenues were being exploited by unscrupulous rulers.

Later on, Oxford was equally vehement against the tyranny of the king. Here, in the year 1258, the barons assembled a council—the first of English parliaments, and known afterwards for some unaccountable reason as the "Mad Parliament"—in order to compel his majesty to observe the oath he swore on ascending the throne. The "Mad Parliament" drew up a series of very sane regulations called the "Provisions of Oxford"; but needless to say the king would not observe them, and ordered all scholars out of Oxford. They migrated in a body to Northampton, and there attempted to found a new university. Here, later, when the king, now at war with the barons, besieged the town (which took the side of Simon de Montfort), he was enraged to find them fighting in his foes' defence, and swore to hang every one of them. He thought better of his oath when he discovered that many of the students were the sons of the barons, and allowed them to return proudly to Oxford.

Besides, Oxford had already acquired several chartered privileges and immunities. The first of these was granted in these circumstances: a student practising archery, accidentally killed a woman, and fearing punishment, fled. Whereupon the mayor and several burghers made search for him, and failing to discover him, seized on three other clerks who were

residing at the inn wherein he had taken refuge, and cast them into prison. Then King John, residing at the time in his manor at Woodstock, ordered them to be led out of the town and hanged. In indignation, all the scholars, to the number of 3000, left the University, and with their masters went, some to Cambridge and others elsewhere, to pursue their studies. This being reported to their diocesan, St Hugh of Lincoln, and thence to the Pope, Oxford was laid under interdict. It lay desolate for three years. Then representations were made to the Pope, who sent as his legate, Nicholas the Bishop of Tusculum. He heard the case at Westminster, imposed penances, and absolved the delinquents. One of the privileges then obtained for the University was that the bishop, his official, or the chancellor should alone hear and judge offending clerks, and not the city commonalty.

The chancellor, first mentioned in this papal ordinance of 1214, received his authority from the Bishop of Lincoln, even if he were elected, as is possible, by the University; for the clerks came under the Bishop's special care and jurisdiction. He himself, however, was too far away in those days of difficult travel, to be continually defending their rights and privileges, or punishing their excesses, and so appointed, or approved the appointment, of a deputy.

The granting of this privilege was not at first without evil effects, for men began to come up to Oxford for purposes other than that of study; and sheltering themselves under this law, committed all kinds of crimes, and were a further cause of endless broils, both among their fellow-students and the citizens. On one occasion the students actually took the field with banners flying just outside the city, the Northerners and Welshmen uniting against the Southerners. Many were slain on both sides, victory being adjudged to the former, who were greeted by the name of conquerors. The king was at the time too much occupied with his own troubles to interfere

or punish the offenders. There was an old prophecy which in this case was certainly fulfilled; it ran thus:—

> **"Mark the chronicles aright**
> **When Oxford scholars fall to fight;**
> **Before many months expired,**
> **England will with war be fired."**

It must be remembered that Oxford was not as now, more or less selective; it was democratic enough to receive all sorts and conditions of men, who shifted for themselves as best they could, living in inns or hostels. It was only at the end of the thirteenth century that the present admirable system of colleges was introduced by Walter de Merton, and then generously adopted by other patrons of learning. It was not till the year 1420 that Henry V., himself an Oxford man, enacted, in consequence of the growing lawlessness of students, that (1) they should swear to observe the University statutes; (2) that all students should live under the charge of a principal, a prudent man; (3) that no students should live with laymen under pain of loss of privilege, of imprisonment, or of banishment. In 1432, the University confirmed these enactments of the king by ordering all scholars to dwell in a hall or college of the University under pain of imprisonment; townsfolk were, however, permitted to lodge students by licence of the chancellor.

In the year 1355 we find King Edward III. confirming the privileges of the University, and granting other liberties which made it practically free of the municipality. His action was resultant upon a fight between Town and Gown of more than usual ferocity. It began on the feast of St Scholastica in the year preceding. According to Anthony à Wood's account, several clerks calling for wine at the Mermaid Tavern, made complaints as to its quality; when the drawer vindicated the wine "with snappish words and saucy language," they threw the

wine in his face. Then the owner of the tavern, "who out of prepensed malice seeking all occasions of conflict with the scholars, and taking this abuse as a ground to proceed upon, caused the town bell of St Martin to be rung, that the commonalty might be summoned together into a body. . . . They in an instant were in arms, some with bows and arrows, others with divers sorts of weapons. And then they, without any more ado, did in a furious and hostile manner suddenly set upon divers scholars, who at that time were without any offensive arms—no, not so much as anything to defend themselves." The chancellor, whom they shot at and would have killed, seeing how great danger they were in, caused the University bell at St Mary's to be rung out. . . ." The bloody fray lasted for three days, each side being summoned each morning to battle by their respective bells. On the second day the townsmen were reinforced by two thousand countrymen, who entered the town by the West Gate flying a black, dismal flag; the scholars on seeing them discreetly withdrew themselves to their lodgings. But they were pursued, their chests and furniture were rifled and wrecked, and themselves killed or maimed. "Some poor innocents that were flying with all speed to the Body of Christ for succour (then honourably carried in procession by the brethren through the town for the appeasing of this slaughter), and striving to embrace and come as near as they could to the repository wherein the glorious Body was with great devotion put, these confounded sons of Satan knocked them down, beat and most cruelly wounded. . . ."

Most of the University fled; the rest, "whether doctors, masters, scholars, religious men or chaplains, hid themselves for fear of being butchered. . . ." Again the city was laid under an interdict. One of the penalties laid upon the commonalty for the removal of this ecclesiastical censure, was that every year ever after, the city magnates should have a High Mass celebrated on St Scholastica's Day in St Mary's Church,

at which they were all to be present, and that after the Gospel, every one should offer one penny to be distributed to forty poor scholars. In Elizabeth's reign this act of reparation was commuted into the procuring of a sermon or a "communion," and at length it was deemed sufficient for the mayor and corporation to attend an ordinary service. In 1825 the corporation induced the University by a special deed to annul the obligation altogether. A few years later, in 1857, the University also abrogated another obligation which, indeed, time had made a mere formality; and with which, therefore, a newly-elected mayor had refused to comply. It dated as far back as 1284, and was to the effect that whenever the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford should take their oath of fealty to the king, they should also swear "to keep the liberties and customs of the University."

In a university almost wholly made up of ecclesiastics, it is not to be wondered at that theological discussions sometimes waxed hot; but the disputants, even if in the heat of the moment they transgressed the bounds of courtesy as we understand them to-day, always kept within the broad limits of orthodoxy, until John Wyclif appeared. Anthony à Wood does not hesitate to quote a certain Protestant bishop of Oxford, who describes him as "a grand dissembler, a man of little conscience," who in his disputes was actuated more by "vainglory and the desire to obtain a name than out of honesty."

He inveighed against the friars, and went so far as to ascribe a pestilence then raging, which reduced the University to half its former numbers, to the anger of God in punishment of their sins. "But," says the same unprejudiced author, "his arguments are far-fetched," and " . . . he fought all ways imaginable to bring an odium on the friars. . . ." Even so, had he confined his attention to the reform of abuses, exaggerated as his charges might have been, we should have heard but little of him, for he would have been

neither the first nor the last in that useful field; but when he began to teach strange doctrine, the case was different. It can be a matter of no surprise that the University again and again condemned his heretical and dangerous opinions.

Though the novel and pernicious doctrines of Wyclif were condemned, and he himself was inhibited from teaching in the University, he was permitted to retire in peace to a parsonage in Lutterworth, where he actively propagated his doctrines by his writings and by the formation of a band of itinerant preachers, afterwards called the Lollards.

In any age, the man of ability who storms against the evils of his day and preaches a new gospel is sure to win followers; so it was with Wyclif. He died in the year 1384; but the poisons of his heresy had so widely spread that the University found it necessary in 1412 to compel all masters to formally abjure Wyclifism.

The teaching of Wyclif was not only flagrantly heretical, but tended towards the subversion of the whole social order, as was shown later. The vigorous measures of king and parliament, however, practically destroyed the evil in this country; so that by the time of that spiritual rebellion that convulsed England a hundred years later, it was, to all intents and purposes, dead. It is therefore historically inaccurate to call Wyclif "the morning star of the Reformation," except in the sense that he was a rebel against the Church, and that some of his heretical doctrines were adopted by the so-called reformers. The Reformation put the Church of England into the hands of the king: Wyclifism would have put it into the hands of the people; its polity was communistic. Wyclif taught, for instance, that no one was bound to obey a ruler who was in a state of sin; that, in fact, a man in this state had no right to exercise any sort of authority over others, ceased to have any right over his own property, had indeed no right to anything at all. Then again, that the clergy should live wholly on alms, which the people might refuse

to give if they failed of their duty; that they had no right to property; but that the king should dispossess them. He taught that the true Church was composed only of those who were predestined to eternal life, and that the Pope himself might possibly not belong to it: that the prayers of those who were "predestined to eternal damnation" were without avail, etc. Lastly, he propounded such strange views about the Holy Eucharist that the University was completely horrified, and employed drastic means to prevent them gaining a foothold.

The Renaissance, as it swept over Europe, left many permanent marks upon the University; among others was the study of Greek, which it may be hoped will be indelible. The art of printing was introduced into Oxford as early as 1464: it was thus the first city after Metz and Haarlem to practise the art. The names of such ripe scholars as Colet, Erasmus, and More—to go no farther afield—are a sufficient proof that the so-named Reformation was not necessarily its direct and logical issue. Years later, when the time came for "great searchings of heart," Blessed Thomas More, the noblest of Oxford's sons, did not hesitate to die for his unwavering belief in the ancient papal order, because he clearly saw that it was an integral portion of Christ's Gospel. The name of the great Chancellor does not stand alone. The greater number of the English Martyrs beatified by Leo XIII. were sons of Oxford.

This fact finds happy expression in an epigram which appeared some years since in the pages of the *Oxford Magazine:* it may be cited here:—

> "To be mother of martyrs proud Cambridge is fain,
> Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, whom Oxford hath slain;
> But of martyrs less doubtful, who boasts the chief store?
> True, Cambridge has Fisher: but Oxford counts MORE."

On the accession of Henry VIII., the University, as was customary, made application to have their liberties and

privileges confirmed and augmented, and the king, always a friend of learning, liberally responded. A few years later, he, at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey, excused the University from the payment of subsidies, and gave it greater control over things civic as well as academic. The University had reached the zenith of its power and influence.

Oxford would have nothing to do with the doctrines of the Protestant Reformers. The opinions of Luther were solemnly condemned in convocation, and the condemnation posted on the dial of St Mary's Churchyard. Dr Edward Powell, an Oxonian and Canon of Sarum, wrote a treatise against Luther, which so pleased the king, who was then engaged on his own book, that he would have greatly honoured him, had Powell not been quite as zealous against the royal divorce, which at the time was occupying public attention. Instead, he was burnt at Smithfield. This impatience in Oxford of any doctrine that savoured of novelty, was perhaps the cause of Tyndale's removal to the sister University. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were all Cambridge men; Oxford showed its zeal for orthodoxy by burning them. But many things had happened before that, and first of all came the king's divorce.

This question stirred the University to its depths, and the discussions ran high indeed. In convocation, the doctors, out of fear of the king from whom they had received so much, gave their opinions in the matter such as they knew would please him; but the juniors disputed it very eagerly, and could not be drawn to their temporising minds. The king then sent a letter urging the masters to "frame these young persons in such order and conformity as beseemeth them," seeing that, "in respect of their immaturity they were unfit to be consulted in such a grand point." After reminding them of their duty to their "soveraigne Lorde," he warns them that "if the youth of the Universitie will play maistres as they begynne to do, we doubt not but that they shall well perceyve that it is

not well to irritate hornets." In consequence of this letter, the juniors were ejected from the house, and the University, overawed by the king's power, drew up a "Script of Determination" under its seal. In this they state that it seemed to them to be prohibited by the divine and the natural law for a Christian to marry the wife of his brother who dies without children. They said nothing about the case in question, nor about the Pope's dispensation. How that could be against the divine or the natural law, which was positively commanded in the Jewish Law, does not find expression in this document, which bears every trace of being drawn up merely to pacify the king's majesty.

There is a story that even so, this script would never have been officially issued had not some one in the dead of night, "a time suitable for bad designs," stolen the University seal; that though "falsehood triumphed and truth quaked for fear," she "never shrank her head"; for at least five Inceptors in Divinity "would in no wise agree to the Divorsement"; that on Lincoln Gate, where resided Longland, the bishop and the chief commissioner in this cause from the king, "were gallows made with chalk, and little ropes of hemp nailed thereunto, signifying that he and his party were worthy of hanging for their going against the truth." Thirty women of Oxford were imprisoned in Bocardo for strongly opposing this desire of the king to take unto himself a second wife, after putting Queen Katharine away.

In the same year, sixty-one articles from the writings of Wyclif were condemned in full convocation held in the chancel of St Mary's Church; which condemnation, together with a copy of the sentence of the Council of Constance, was sent to the king. And the king, finding in these said articles nothing about the Pope's power, "took occasion to vex the Pope (who hindered his design from being divorced from his brother's wife) by promoting Wycleve's doctrine and ejecting papacy out of the kingdom." Two years after we find the

University surrendering to the king "both regal and papal privileges"; nay, its entire constitution—*ipsam Universitatem.*" When the Act of Parliament was passed forbidding any sort of appeal to Rome, and making the king supreme even in things spiritual, every house of the University, after long discussion, was impelled by fear to deny the authority of the Pope, and promised not even to call him by the name of Pope, but only Bishop of Rome. Those who would not renounce him were turned out of their scholarships, fellowships, or chaplaincies.

In spite of the efforts of Cardinal Wolsey to promote learning by the foundation of Oxford's largest college, even at the expense of several monasteries, the University seemed doomed to perish under this persecution. Moreover, a plague once more visited the city, so that most of the students fled, and many lecturers had not one auditor.

There must have been at this time great anxiety among the heads of houses, and a dread that the University would follow the fate of the helpless monasteries. But Henry's old love of learning survived the onslaught of his brutal passions and his insatiable thirst for plunder. In order that the destruction of the monasteries might have no disastrous effect upon learning, in so far as these institutions had provided both scholars and the means of their support, it was enjoined that every beneficed clergyman in the new regime should find "an exhibition to maintain one scholar or more either at grammar schools or at one of the universities."

On the death of the king, Dr John Harley of Magdalen, for preaching a sermon at St Peter's-in-the-East against the Pope, was hurried up to London as a heretic; an act which showed clearly enough that the renunciation of the Pope by the University was through fear and in the hope of his rehabilitation. Great was the disappointment therefore when they discovered that the young king would follow in the footsteps of his father in respect of the new opinions. Peter

Martyr was appointed to teach the new doctrines at Oxford, and Martin Bucer at Cambridge. The former met with great opposition, and his doctrines were publicly defeated in the schools. The disputations became so heated, and, on the part of Protestants, were carried on with so much profanity, that a letter of admonition was sent to the University by the Lord Protector and the King's Council. But at the same time, the works of Peter Lombard, St Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and others of the same class were cast out of the College libraries as heretical. In truth, the young king's advisers made ruthless havoc of the libraries in the hope of extirpating popery; whole libraries were sold for a song to tradesmen and others and put to vile usage; many valuable manuscripts with nothing more criminal than "superstitious red lettering" were committed to the flames. Books were disposed of literally in cart-loads, until libraries became empty and were hired out to laundries as drying-rooms. The loss was irreparable. Later on, all altars, statues, tabernacles, missals, and everything that savoured of Catholicism were removed from the churches and chapels alike. Under all this, learning more and more decayed, for parents declined to send their sons to Oxford, being content that they should merely learn to read at home. The University was despised, and called "The Stable of Asses," "The Stews and Schools of the Devils," and other more opprobrious names.

On the accession of Queen Mary, "religion and learning put on another face." The queen restored the schools as they had been before the Reformation, and established once more the ancient statutes, besides bestowing on the University "divers benefices." Thomas Cranmer was sent to Oxford, and, according to the law of the realm, condemned.

Peter Martyr, who had so long reigned supreme as teacher of heresy, was politely given his dismissal. It is related that when he heard the little bell at Mass in the Chapel of Corpus

Christi, he sighed and said: "That bell will destroy all the doctrine in this college which I and Jewel by our labours have planted."

On 16th October 1555, Ridley and Latimer, having refused to abjure their heresy and their attitude of rebellion against the Crown, were condemned, degraded, and handed over to the secular arm of the law. They were burnt outside Balliol College on the spot now marked by an iron cross in the middle of the roadway of Broad Street. Formerly there was a ditch called Canditch, which ran along here under the city wall.

An undue notoriety has been given to these men in the Protestant tradition, set on foot by that most untrustworthy of all witnesses, Foxe. Before King Edward's death was publicly known, Bishop Ridley had openly preached that Mary was a bastard; he was, therefore, in these times of unrest, a danger to the throne. It was he and such as he, who, not content with the toleration extended to all at the beginning of Mary's reign, stirred up conspiracy and rebellion, and compelled the queen to re-enact the heresy laws.[1]

Cranmer watched the terrible scene from the Bocardo Prison, a room over the North Gate which stretched across the road from St Michael's tower. He suffered the same

[1] To quote one of the most eminent of present historians, "There was a spirit of rebellion still in the land which had its root in religious bitterness; and if Mary was to reign in peace, and order was to be upheld, that spirit must be repressed. The revival of the heresy laws was, therefore, a mere necessity of the situation—a necessity regretted even at the time that they were reimposed." "Two hundred and seventy-seven are recorded to have been burnt. . . . But the appalling number of sufferers must not blind us altogether to the provocation. Nor must it be forgotten that if it be once judged right to pass an Act of Parliament, it is right to put it in force. To relent would have implied simply that the authorities feared they had been wrong in passing it, and the result would have been to yield the victory to those powers of disorder which they had endeavoured to withstand."—JAMES GAIRDNER.

extreme penalty of the law on the 21st of March following, having in vain signed six or seven recantations.

Cardinal Pole (himself an Oxford man) sent several noted theologians to Oxford to teach, and counteract the doctrines of Martyr and the rest; but the queen died before any beneficial result of these measures could be realised; as it was, the average number of degrees conferred in a year rose to seventy, as compared with thirty-three to which it had dwindled in the reign of Edward.

As soon as Elizabeth had been proclaimed Queen, she sent first a letter and then visitors to Oxford, who very soon disillusioned the minds of those who hoped that the happy state of things brought about by Queen Mary would at least be permitted to continue, even if no great encouragement were given to those who professed the old faith. For the visitors "purged all college chapels of such utensils that they thought superstitious, as they did at the same time the churches of each parish in the city. . . ."

All masters who would not subscribe to the oath of the Queen's supremacy were forced to resign. No less than thirteen heads of houses were thus ejected, viz., the Dean of Christ Church, the Warden of Merton, the President of Magdalen, the President of Corpus Christi, the Master of Balliol, the Provost of Oriel, the Provost of Queen's, the Rector of Lincoln, the President of Trinity, and of St John's, the Principal of St Alban's Hall, the King's Reader of Divinity, the King's Professor of the Greek Tongue, and the Master of University College. Besides these, a great number of fellows and scholars were sent away or left of their own accord, and either retired into private life or crossed the seas. Thus "the University became empty, and learning low."

Preachers were so rare that the high sheriff undertook the office several times in the University Church, wearing a damask gown, a gold chain about his neck, and a sword by

his side. We possess the exordium of one of his sermons; it is a good illustration of the quaint mannerisms of the day: "Arriving at the Mount of St Mary's, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fyne Bisketts baked in the oven of Charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the Church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of Salvation."

Merton broke out into open revolt against the innovations, and declined to receive a Warden of Parker's choice; but all opposition was quelled, many of the fellows resigning or being ejected.

Meanwhile the exiles, who found a congenial refuge at Louvain, applied themselves to the task of writing controversial books in defence of the Catholic religion, which did much to steady the waverers. Later on, in 1586, many of them, under Cardinal Allen, a former Principal of St Mary's Hall and Canon of York, assembled together at Douai with the purpose of training young Englishmen, who, returning to their own country as priests, and carrying their lives in their hands, should go about England instructing the ignorant, strengthening the weak-hearted, reconciling the relapsed, and administering the holy sacraments to the faithful generally. This may rightly be called the first great Oxford Movement. As time went on, a stream of students came from the desolated colleges and halls of Oxford to the cardinal's door, fired with this noble ambition. The long roll of martyrs attest the zeal with which they carried out to its bitter end their heroic enterprise.

That Oxford at this time was in a deplorable condition may be known from contemporary evidence; thus Jewel, writing to his friend Peter Martyr, says: "Our universities, and more especially Oxford, are most sadly deserted; without learning, without lectures, without any regard to religion." In 1561, only nine students took their arts degree.

Five years later, when Oxford with its wonderful recupera-

tive power had evidently somewhat recovered itself, the Queen visited the University. Endless addresses in Latin and Greek were read to her; long disputations were carried on in St Mary's Church, where "a fair large scaffold reaching from the nether end of the church to the door of the choir" was set up; and several plays were acted in Christ Church hall. It is interesting to note that in a disputation on natural philosophy in the aforesaid church, Edmund Campion of St John's, afterwards to suffer death at Tyburn as a "seditious Jesuit," was the respondent; and Richard Bristow of Exeter, afterwards a notable Catholic controversialist, one of the four opponents. Two days afterwards the Queen herself, being much pressed to do so by the Earl of Leicester, the chancellor, and her secretary Cecil, concluded the proceedings with a Latin oration. ". . . she rose up, and with a graceful presence spake as follows: 'Qui male agit odit lucem.' . . ." By this means she cleverly brought the whole University to her feet.

The old religion, however, lingered on in spite of all the terrors of the law, for in 1578 we find that convocation was assembled to deal with its suppression, several enactments being made. The city, not to be behind the University, voted twenty marks yearly for sermons to be preached in their Church of St Martin against Catholic doctrines, and particularly against Jesuits.

Catholics, however, still continued to come to the University; consequently in 1581, among other degrees of convocation, was one compelling all students before matriculation to subscribe to the Protestant articles of religion, and take the oath of the queen's supremacy. A sufficiently protective measure! though several years after special decrees were put in force, not only that the University might be purged "from all Jesuits, Seminarians, and notorious Recusants, which (had) secretly crept in," but that "no justly suspected person or known Papist at the least (might) be suffered in any wise to

have the tuition and teaching of young scholars to the slander of the universities. . . ." As a further preventive, everyone was bound to attend the lectures and disputations against Papacy, and "answer in his turn."

In July, 1589, there suffered at Oxford four Catholic martyrs, all now declared Venerable by Pope Leo XIII. These were George Nicols, an elderly priest, and Richard Yaxley, a young one, his friend; Thomas Belson, an Oxfordshire gentleman who had come to the city to visit his ghostly father, Mr Nicols; and a faithful-hearted servant, Humphrey Pritchard. These were all taken at the Catharine Wheel Inn, which stood on the site of the new part of Balliol College, opposite the stile crossing St Mary Magdalen's Churchyard, on the north side. The landlady of the inn, "a pious Catholick widdowe," whose name has perished, suffered also for her hospitality to the two priests; she was cruelly condemned to the loss of all her goods and to perpetual imprisonment.

In 1592, Elizabeth again visited Oxford and received the same servile honours as before. As before also, she made her Latin oration in St Mary's Church, but showed no little irritation at the length of the preceding addresses, cutting some of them short. As she rode away, the students read Latin verses from the gate of Christ Church, and the queen then graciously gave both masters and undergraduates "her benediction."

By the time that James I. had ascended the throne, Oxford, through a continuous series of theological squabbles, had fallen into a state of almost absolute Calvinism. Then arose William Laud, who, first as Professor of Theology, then as President of St John's, and finally as Chancellor, made heroic efforts to revive something of a Church spirit. To declare in a sermon in St Mary's "that the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists," was indeed to throw down the gauntlet. Thenceforward began that single-handed strife for simple ritual

observance which ended only in his death in 1644. But not for this alone is the name of Laud honoured; the statutes he enacted as chancellor, for the better government of the University, remained in force till at least the beginning of the nineteenth century; and his spirit as the first High-Churchman remained long after his death, to be revived again two centuries later. That so great a man as Laud made few disciples during his life, and that he was put to death for his opinions even though he had the friendship and support of the king, speaks eloquently of his age. The golden link of apostolic tradition was snapt and broken beyond his repairing. He occupied the unenviable office of innovator. Even the outward semblance of Church discipline was in danger; for, three years before Laud's death, the University made humble petition to parliament begging that the form of Church government by bishops should be preserved to them, and not allowed to fall into "ruin and diminution." This petition being presented by the vice-chancellor and certain doctors, and receiving scant courtesy from parliament, was delivered to His Majesty King Charles I., who gave them his assurances of protection. His Majesty, however, was powerless now, for the puritanical spirit was rampant. Among the many charges made against Laud were the following:— That he had caused certain crucifixes to be repaired and set up in the colleges again; that he had removed the communion tables from the centre of the churches, and had railed them in at the east end, where they were "bowed to"; that copes were revived in certain colleges; that "a very scandalous statue of the Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms was set up in the new church porch of St Mary, and was the object of worship and prayer;" charges which show how completely the work of demolition had been carried out. Parliament drew up a form of protestation against "all Popery and Popish innovations, to the detriment of the doctrine of the Church of England and His Majesty's royal person, honour, and estate."

But Laud was in reality no Catholic, not even in sentiment, though he believed in certain Catholic doctrines, as High-Churchmen do to-day; he had no intention, as he declared just before his death, of "bringing in of Popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion established by law in this kingdom." He was Erastian to the core. As he was about to die on the scaffold he exclaimed: "I have always lived in the Protestant religion established in England, and in that I come now to die."

The University subscribed to the parliamentary protestation: some, however, with limitations, others with delays. The leaven of Laud was beginning to work.

The year 1642 saw Oxford in arms and preparing to defend itself in the king's cause. As Prince Charles, he had matriculated himself with his own hand a member of the University, and had penned this line: "Si vis omnia subjicere, subjice te rationi." Here he had held his first parliament, on account of the plague then raging in London; His Majesty with the Lords of the Privy Council occupied Christ Church, and parliament met in the divinity schools.

Oxford, which had sided with De Montfort against Henry III., and had so harassed the king when he was besieging Northampton, that he threatened to hang all the students; which had shut its gates against Prince Edward in 1263, and had actually credited the imposture of Lambert Simnel, wiped this blot of disloyalty from its escutcheon by its unswerving loyalty to the House of Stuart. Day by day masters and scholars were marched to the parks or to the great quadrangle of Christ Church and trained to the use of arms, while the highway near Magdalen was barricaded with timber. Loads of stone were carried to the top of Magdalen Tower to be flung down upon the enemy. On one occasion the king's own troopers caused no little alarm by entering the city unannounced, as it was not known who they were; indeed they were first mistaken for the enemy, so great was

the panic, and several soldiers were killed before the mistake was found out. When they departed, they took a hundred or more students to fight in the king's cause. But Oxford was not warlike, with all its training; moreover, the citizens, whenever they dared, showed themselves for the parliamentary forces, a troop of whom entered the city unopposed soon after the departure of the king's men. They remained for several days, turning their horses into Christ Church Meadows. One of them riding up the High, fired at the statue over the porch of St Mary's, and struck off the head of both figures. The present statue was erected in the same place, later.

King Charles marched into Oxford after the Battle of Edge Hill, making the city for some time his headquarters. Most of the academicians had now exchanged the gown for the military coat, and the square cap for the helmet.

On 24th June, 1646, the city surrendered to the Parliamentarians, but not before the most honourable terms had been obtained, and the defenders allowed to march forth with colours flying and drums beating. It is to the lasting honour of Fairfax that his first act on entering the city was to post a double cordon of troops round the Bodleian for its defence.

The Puritans not only took possession of the city, but also of the pulpits, and many complaints were made against them: that their prayers and sermons were very tedious; that they omitted the Lord's Prayer as savouring of prelacy; that they prayed chiefly for "their blessed proceedings"; that they made "wry mouths, squint eyes, and scru'd faces, quite altering them from what God and Nature had made them; that they had antick behaviours, squeaking voices, and puling tones. . . ."

When the "blessed parliament" had gained the upper hand, the "beloved saints" thought it high time that visitors should be sent to Oxford, "for the better regulating and reformation of the University," and "for due correction of

offences, abuses, and disorders." But the University, with the vice-chancellor at its head, politely, firmly, and diplomatically declined to accept their interference, acknowledging the right of no person less than the king's majesty or his direct delegate, to make such visitation.

The parliament, hearing that there were still garrison soldiers in the city to defend the king's interests, sent a sum of money that they might be paid off and disbanded. The money was seized, but the soldiers refused to disband. A convoy of dragoons was ordered to remove it; but the garrison soldiers fell upon them outside All Souls in the High, wounded several, and so shamefully beat the rest, that they fled from the city, leaving their baggage behind them.

Meanwhile on 1st June, 1647, convocation assembled, and certain delegates were chosen to represent and answer the visitors should they dare to come, drawing up certain "just scruples" or reasons to justify themselves and their conduct. When, for instance, the visitors arrived and the bell of St Mary's was rung for the visitation sermon, the vice-chancellor, the heads of houses and most of the doctors absented themselves. Being cited to appear at the schools between the hours of 9 and 11 A.M., the vice-chancellor approached the convocation house at nearly eleven o'clock, caused the clock to be put on, and so passed through the divinity school attended by his beadles and proctors. The passage being narrow, one of the beadles cried out, "Room for Mr Vice-Chancellor"; and the visitors instinctively making way, the vice-chancellor very civilly moved his cap, saying, "Good-morrow, gentlemen, 'tis past eleven of the clock," and took no further notice of them. This kind of mockery went on for some time, and the vice-chancellor declined to give up the book of statutes, keys, seals, and all the insignia of his office. A notice was posted up on the door of the schools divesting him of his office; but no notice was taken of it.

The visitors thrust out the head of Pembroke and appointed another; then got the vice-chancellor summoned to London to appear before the Lords. The vice-chancellor obeyed, but pressed the Head of Trinity to act in his place, who, summoning convocation, exhorted all to patience, and appointed delegates to deal with the visitors. They drew up an interesting formula for general guidance. Those cited to appear before the visitors were instructed to answer their questioners cautiously. They were not to answer any question directly, but to refer the questioner to the answers given by the University, by their own college, etc. They were not to commit themselves, but to protest that they would stand by no answer they might give, but such as appeared in writing under their name. They were to take time in answering, give short answers, and take care to use no words of provocation. But their manner must have been highly provocative to the newly appointed chancellor, who is described as a "perverse, cholerick, and testy man"; who stormed and raved as president of the meetings, and gained nothing. The rights of the University were hotly debated in London. The vice-chancellor was condemned for contempt of the authority of parliament, and the dean of Christ Church in denying it, as also the proctors. They were all removed from their offices, but took no notice of the order. The new men appointed, however, took possession of their respective places by violence; and the new vice-chancellor began to confer degrees and perform the other duties appertaining to the office. The use of the Book of Common Prayer was prohibited. A woman was publicly whipped for calling the new men "Roundheads and Rebels"! Two masters were sent to prison for "speaking boldly to, and uttering rash words" against them. An order was issued commanding all treasurers and bursars to hand in their rents, books of accounts, seals, etc.; but it was not obeyed, and so long suits followed.

Orders were sent to the printers and stationers not to "print, publish, sell, or deliver" any unlicensed, libellous, infamous, scurrilous, or abusive pamphlets. The visitors were kept busy expelling fellows and masters, and forcing their own men upon the colleges, and did their work so effectually that when Cromwell in 1653 made himself chancellor, his order that all bachelors and undergraduates should be required every Lord's Day to give an account of their piety to some person appointed by the head of each house respectively, was almost universally obeyed.

On the death of Cromwell, the citizens proclaimed his son Richard from St Mary's Church; but the students pelted them with carrots and turnip-tops so that they fled ignominiously. The loyalists had not long to wait. The next year saw the Restoration of King Charles II. This brought with it a change of scene at Oxford. "Those that for these twelve years last past had governed and carried all things in a manner at their pleasure, looked discontented, plucked their hats over their eyes, and were much perplexed. . . . Those that had laid under a cloud for several years behind, appeared with cheerful looks, while others that had flourished, dropped away or withdrew themselves privately. . . . The common people hugged themselves up with the thought of a king, and of renewing their good old cause, enjoying their sports, especially May-games. . . . The Book of Common Prayer was restored in every chapel, and the Puritan service, consisting of two psalms, two chapters, and a prayer "of the priest's own making," was set aside.

No time was lost in appointing a commission to visit the University, which was joyfully received. Seven heads of houses who had been ejected and were still alive were reinstated, together with many fellows and scholars. All, however, was done with kindness and moderation, whereas "great cruelty was acted in the Presbyterian Visitation"

twelve years before. Those who lost their places under the new regime were given chaplaincies or clerkships, all thought of Episcopal ordination having been lost sight of.

After the Restoration, Oxford lapsed into a state of torpor, intellectual and spiritual. Its zeal in the late Civil War had demoralised its academic spirit, and disorganised the even tenor of its way. For a brief spell its life was fanned into a flame on the accession of James II., but even their tried loyalty to the Stuart cause could brook no interference in their now settled Erastian principles as regards things religious. The well-meaning king defeated his own ends by his indiscreet blindness to the ecclesiastical, as well as the political evolution of thought. In sending a mandate to Magdalen College recommending as their new president a man of his own choice, he was only following the example of his predecessors; but the times had changed, and the fellows resigned rather than do the king's bidding. James triumphed in the end, but it proved to be one of those many triumphs of the kind that eventually lost him his throne.

The coming of William of Orange boded no good to Oxford; a soldier and no scholar, he could hardly be expected to give much encouragement to learning. Henceforth Oxford must fend for itself, and at first it did so very badly. Uffenbach, who visited the Bodleian Library in 1710, writes to a friend: "I cannot sufficiently deplore the horrible fate of this renowned library. Hardly anyone wishes to use this vast storehouse." He further describes the librarian as a man of stupendous ignorance. The professors were "learnedly dull or ignorantly vain"; they seem seldom to have lectured at all, offering as an excuse the unwillingness of the students to listen to them. The students appear to have found it more profitable to procure their own "coaches." On the whole, the history of this century is not edifying reading. Petty politics and dress, flirtation, drinking, and idleness, were more in evidence than any solid learning. Gibbon, who left in disgust,

Remains of the Shrine of St Frideswide, Oxford.

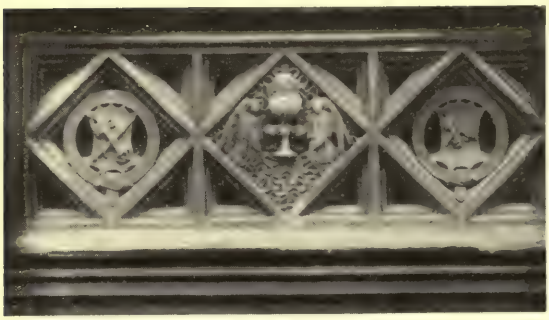

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Old Sculpture over the Entrance Gateway,
Corpus Christi College.

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could write: "The two years of my life I look back to as most unprofitably spent were those I passed at Magdalen, . . . the set of men with whom I lived were very pleasant but very idle fellows." Drinking was so usual that Dr Johnson says: "I have drunk off three bottles of port without being the worse of it." The keeper of the Ashmolean, entertaining one evening the vice-chancellor, died that night of hard drinking.

"I would willingly visit the fellows of —— college," writes a contemporary ironically, "if I only knew where the college was; it used to stand . . . ; but if one may judge from the resort of its members, it is translated to the Three Tuns Tavern. . . ."

Women also were too much in evidence. They were chosen the patronesses of the clubs, were toasted and flirted with, and were to be found whenever the young smart took his walks abroad, all paint, crinolines, head-gear, and giggles. "Bucks and Bloods" cocked their newly-laced hats as they whirled along from Belgrave's stables to Campsfield, nodding to laughing toasts. . . . A member of a poetical club actually composed the following lines:—

> "Since in this faith no heresies we find,
> To love, let our religion be resigned,
> And Cælia reign, the goddess of mankind."

It is to the credit of the club that the verses were burnt and their author expelled.

Highwaymen infested the roads; runaway soldiers who did not scruple to use their weapons. Among the most notable was one, Isaac Darkins or Darling alias Dumas, who was caught and hanged at Oxford. The gallows stood at the end of Magdalen Grove, now Long Wall Street. His daring won him sympathy, particularly from the fair sex. Sometimes the students took the road in the spirit of dare-devil mischief; and two of them were hanged in the same place.

Oxford never took kindly to the House of Hanover, but

became, on the contrary, a great Jacobite centre. When the Prince of Wales was born no sort of demonstration took place until the mayor called out the soldiers in protest; but a riot arose in the streets, many of the gownsmen declaring openly for James III. The University was as High-Church as it was Tory; the meeting-houses of Quakers and Anabaptists were pulled down, and at the same time such a raid was made upon the Whig Constitutional Club, that the inmates had to fly for their lives. They found a clerical hero in the famous preacher, Dr Sacheverell, Fellow of Magdalen, who was actually arraigned by the Whigs for disloyalty to the throne.

In 1729, John Wesley of Lincoln College, with his brother Charles, founded the Methodists, whose aim was the reformation of morals and individual character by a "methodical" code of religious practice. It met with such fierce opposition, that the devotees of the movement were eventually driven out of the Established Church and built conventicles for their own use. Failing still to gain the sympathy or favour of the bishops, though they grew daily in popularity, they ordained themselves ministers, and finally cut themselves adrift. Their great success shows how spiritually dead Anglicanism had become. The principal tenets of these preachers were, the doctrines of election, perseverance, and justification by faith alone.

There are those who think they see in Wesleyanism the first wave of that movement that began just a century later. But they have nothing in common. The first began with a reformation of morals, and ended in teaching a definite Calvinistic creed; the second was an attempt to readjust the teaching and practice of the national church to that of the church of the early ages, and so bring it more into line with the Church Catholic. The first was immediately condemned and ousted from the University, and took refuge among the illiterate, where it gained that tenacious hold which it still in great measure retains; the Tractarian

Movement, inaugurated by Keble and carried to its climax by Newman, succeeded in gaining a foothold in the establishment, and eventually became a radiating centre of spiritual influence within it. Its marks are now evident in every Anglican Church throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The Catholic mission at Oxford, established after the Reformation, was placed in the care of the Jesuits of the English province. It can be traced back as far as the year 1622, about twenty converts being recorded yearly. The fathers carried their lives in their hands, and had to go about under various disguises. In 1710 five fathers are reported as resident, but in hiding; they ministered to a small flock numbering not more than 350. On the accession of James II., the Head of Christ Church was received into the Catholic Church, and later, the Master of University. At both colleges a chapel was arranged for the saying of Mass. Later on, the king, when the fellows of Magdalen resigned rather than elect a Catholic warden, gave the college a Catholic staff. Father Thomas Fairfax, D.D., was one of the new fellows. But the progress of the ancient faith aroused the prejudices of the populace, stirred up by the grossest calumnies, which were widely circulated from the pulpits and through the press. So well was the insidious work done, that before William of Orange had effected a landing, an onslaught was made on Catholic chapels and priests everywhere. Father Fairfax barely escaped alive. But the work of conversion went on in secret; the fathers did not abandon their posts.

The following letter, written by one of the Oxford priests, Father Henry Pelham, S.J., to the provincial, Father John Clare (Sir John Warner, Bart.), is of interest. It is disguised by the use of commercial terms.

OXFORD, *2nd May* 1619.

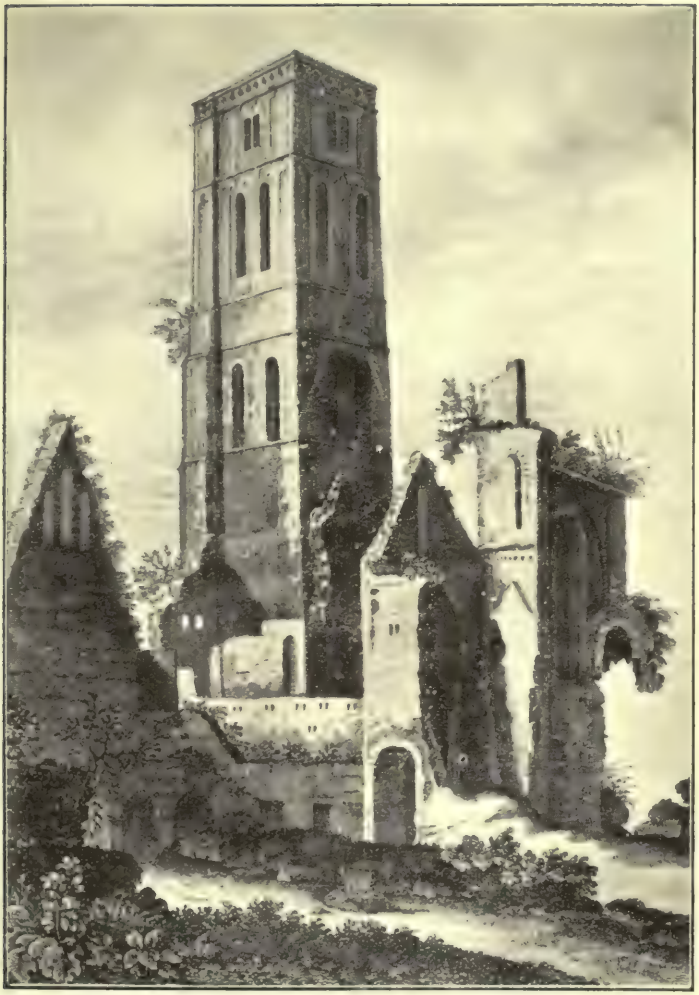
HON. SIR,

You are desirous to know how things are with us in these troublesome times, since trade (religion) is so much decayed. I can only say that in the general decline of trade we have had our share. For, before this turn, we were in a very hopeful way, for we had three public shops (chapels) open in Oxford; one did wholly belong to us, and good custom we had, viz., the University (University College); but now it is shut up; the master was taken and ever since in prison, and the rest forced to abscond. In Mag (Magdalen College) we had one good man in a good station, and in time might have had more concern; but now, all is blown over, and our master, Thomas Beckett, one evening was flung down in the kennel, trampled upon, and had been killed, had not one, upon the noise, come up with a candle. In Christ Church, though we had no man, yet the master was reconciled by us, and in a short time would have taken one (of the Society), but now he is fled, and the shop shut up. In other places all were forced to fly, and ever since to hide for fear of the law. Mr Luson (Father Edward Levison) was so closely pursued, that he was forced to quit his horse, and by ways full of water and dirt to walk in his boots, twenty-two hours together, sometimes up to the middle, so that before he could reach any place to rest in security, the blood was settled in his feet. No rents are paid, and worse things we expect, if some better settlement be not soon found out, of which we are still in some hope. Converts, 7; reconciled, 36; baptised, 43; general confessions, 82; extreme unctions, 45. Thus, in short, I have sent you what I know, and am, honoured Sir, your very humble servant,

HENRY PELHAM.

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Church of St Aloysius (Woodstock Road). Reredos and upper end of the Nave.



Oseney Abbey (see pp. 46-49).

(From a rare print made for Dugdale's *Monasticon*, by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch Cathedral.)

A rigorous search was made for Catholics, in order, as it would appear, that the public eye might be kept upon them. The whole nation for awhile was in a panic of fear. Parsons and churchwardens were ordered to make investigations in each parish and send in their report regularly. For instance, from Somerton, Oxford, a list of twenty-seven Catholics is sent in, and a desire is expressed that the court proceed against several who had not received the Protestant sacrament. It goes on to say: "We have probable grounds to believe that the Roman Catholics meet sometimes for their service in a house in the parish, but they are civil, quiet, and peaceable."

Father Charles Leslie settled permanently in Oxford in 1792-3. He purchased a house in St Clement's and built a small chapel adjoining. By his amiable manner and classical knowledge he made friends in the University and city, but died prematurely, and was buried in the sanctuary of his chapel. In a letter dated 1790, he reports threescore Catholics. The spirit of persecution had worn itself out, but not before it had made havoc of the faith.

The Society of Jesus retired from the Mission in 1859; but at the request of Dr Ullathorne, the bishop of the diocese, resumed it again in 1872, when the new Church of St Aloysius was built in Woodstock Road, the old chapel being inadequate for the needs of the growing congregation, but serving as a chapel of ease. The stone of the larger church was laid by Dr Ullathorne on 20th May, and was solemnly opened by him, in presence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, on 23rd November, 1875. Since that time, within its walls, upwards of a thousand converts have been reconciled to the Catholic Church. St Aloysius' possesses one of the most remarkable collections of relics in the country. This was formed by the late Mr Hartwell Grissell of Brasenose College, who for many years was chamberlain of honour at the papal court: he

bequeathed it at his death to the Oxford mission. The relics are preserved in a side-chapel specially constructed for the purpose.

In 1910 it became necessary to pull down Father Leslie's old chapel of St Ignatius. In its place a new church dedicated to SS. Edmund and Frideswide was built in the Iffley Road. This was the gift of a generous non-resident donor. The new church is of rubble and stone, and has a picturesque little saddle-back tower with a copper flèche.

II

OXFORD AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

To say that Oxford owes its origin and position to the religious orders would be an exaggeration of the truth; on the other hand, there are few who realise or are willing to admit, the powerful influence they exercised in the formation of the University, and in bringing it up to a high level of literary excellence.

Religious orders made their way into Oxford in the train of the Norman Conqueror. Whether St Frideswide's Priory, or St George's Church in the castle, or Oseney Abbey can claim the honour of being the first to introduce religious into the city, is a matter of dispute. Certainly at first, the priests serving the priory and the castle were secular canons, that is priests living under rule but not bound by vows; it is not clear when they became religious properly so called. It is stated that St Edward the Confessor was dispensed from a vow of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, on condition of his establishing canons regular in the priory instead of the canons secular then in possession; that King Harold restored it again to the seculars, from which time it fell into decay; and that the Conqueror gave it to the monks of St Mary's Abbey, Abingdon, who, seeing it in such ruinous condition, passed it on to their Bishop of Salisbury; and that finally, Henry I. gave it to his chaplain, "Master Guymundus," who introduced again the canons regular, becoming himself

the first prior. Under these religious it flourished until the time of Henry VIII., when, as we shall see later, Wolsey established Christ Church in its place.

The chapel of St Frideswide's Priory, which now serves both as the cathedral of the diocese and as the chapel of the college, is the only one among so many monastic chapels that has survived the Reformation; it may well, therefore, be briefly described here. Of the ancient and original priory built for St Frideswide herself, nothing remains but a low rag-stone wall with two arches beneath the east windows of the Lady Chapel and the intervening choir-isle. The main fabric of the church is reasonably believed to be that erected by King Æthelred the Unready, after the citizens had burnt the former one over the heads of their enemies the Danes, who, it will be remembered, had taken sanctuary therein to escape the massacre of St Brice's Day, in the year 1002. The building of the church was an act of atonement on the part of the king for his complicity in the bloody affair. Its three western bays, however, were demolished by Wolsey to make room for his great new quadrangle—Tom Quad, as it is now called. It was his intention, indeed, to have demolished the whole, and to have built an entirely new and magnificent chapel along the north of this same quadrangle; he actually laid enormous foundations, using as his material the stones from Oseney Abbey; Dean Fell, a century later, is said to have used these foundation stones for the completion of this north side and the gate into it on the north-east.

The first chapel was in a line with the present Lady Chapel, whose vaulting and pillars are of the thirteenth century. To the beginning of the same period belong the upper part of the tower and the modest spire, probably the very first stone spire in England, though it looks so new. But the plain massive pillars and arches both of the nave and choir are by some ascribed to King Æthelred; though the

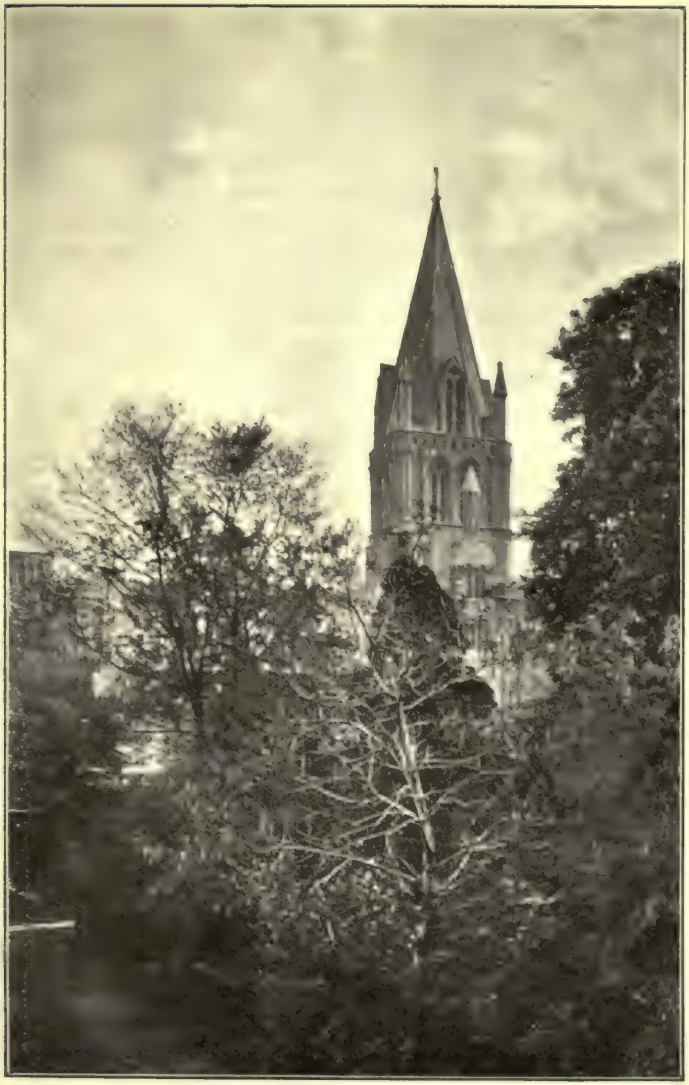


Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Tower of the Cathedral. From a private garden.

[*To face p.* 44

richly carved vaulting of the latter is said to be the work of the Augustinian canons just before their suppression. The east end wall, however, is a very recent restoration from the design of Sir Gilbert Scott, who swept away a fourteenth-century window to make way for it. The choir, also, has been entirely refitted, the old stalls being removed to what is now called the Latin Chapel. This chapel, the northernmost one, was built in the fourteenth century and dedicated to St Catharine; the east window of it illustrates the life of St Frideswide, and is the work of Burne-Jones. Until quite recent times, the Regius Professor of Divinity used to lecture in it to candidates for Anglican orders.

Fragments of St Frideswide's shrine, destroyed and scattered by the Reformers, have been collected and put together again as far as was possible, and now they adorn the Lady Chapel, otherwise still bare and desolate. Between the Latin Chapel (perhaps so called on account of the Latin service said in it at the beginning of term) and the Lady Chapel is the richly-wrought tomb of Lady Montacute, who gave the meadow to the priory. Unknown donors bestowed the opposite "watching-chamber," when the shrine of the saint, to which the vice-chancellor and other principal members of the University made solemn procession twice a year, "to pray, preach, and offer oblations," was decked with costly gifts, and worth the watching. These fragments of the ancient shrine are interesting as being the first kind of this floral carving in England; the leaves and medicinal herbs have undoubted reference to the saint's time of seclusion in the woods.

In the same line are the tombs of a Prior of St Frideswide, conjecturally that of Alexander de Sutton, who died in 1316, and of Sir George Nowers, a companion of the Black Prince.

The south aisle, together with the chapel of St Lucy, date from mediæval times. In the east end of the chapel is a fourteenth-century window, depicting in one of its lights the

martyrdom of St Thomas à Becket. Like every other discoverable figure of the people's saint in England it was mutilated by order of Henry VIII. At the juncture of the chapel and choir-aisle is the tomb of the time-server Robert King, last abbot of Oseney and first bishop of Oxford.

Dean Duppa, in the time of Charles I., removed much of the old stained glass to make room for that of his own choosing; the window nearest King's tomb (in the isle) has a representation of Oseney Abbey Church, not long after the Dissolution, which is unique and precious. This great "restorer" also swept away many of the old tombs and brasses. The Puritans almost completed the wreck. However, besides those mentioned, the first three windows of the Latin Chapel date from the fourteenth century. The subjects of these windows are as follows: (1) St Catharine; Our Lady; St Anne [?]; (2) The Annunciation: between the angel and our Lady stands a bishop, presumably Bishop Courtenay; (3) St Margaret; St Frideswide; St Catharine again.

The south gate of the church opens into the fifteenth-century cloister; all that remains of the ancient one is the great Norman doorway and window of the Chapter House, said to have been erected by the first Prior of the Augustinians, Prior Guymond. To his successor, Robert of Cricklade, is attributed much of the restoration of King Æthelred's Church, particularly most of the later Norman work.

Robert D'Oilly, Constable of William the Conqueror, founded in his castle a College and Church of St George, and placed it in the care of secular canons of St Augustine; they were afterwards, according to one account, transferred to Oseney, and became canons regular, "learning the same example from those of St Frideswide's Priory, who a little before had showed them the way."

The foundation of Oseney (or Ouseney) Abbey was due to the piety of Edith (or Alditha) the wife of another Robert D'Oilly, nephew of the first constable. At the earnest

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

All that remains of Oseney Abbey (1912).

[*To face p. 47.*

entreaty of his wife, Robert, in 1129, gave the lands which formed the southern portion of the Isle of Oseney for this pious purpose. This island is situated near the castle, and is formed by confluence of two branches of the river Isis; "though low, where it had its situation, was yet very pleasant both in respect of the chinking rivulets running about it, as also for the shady groves and walks . . . and so enticing a place was it for pleasure that it often gave occasion to a noble lady of this City called Edith Forne, wife of Robert de Oilly . . . to recreate and solace herself therein when she lived at the Castle." A curious story is told to the effect that in thus walking about, she was much perturbed in mind on seeing day by day a number of magpies chattering in a tree, and that on mentioning the matter to her confessor, a canon of St Frideswide's, she was bidden by him to see in them souls in Purgatory seeking her assistance. This incident, it is said, first suggested to her that she should build an abbey on the spot, in which Masses would be said for their deliverance.

The foundations of the abbey were laid, the canons became popular and flourished; donations poured in; buildings, chapels, and two "bulkly high towers" sprang up with quadrangles, spacious cloisters, and a magnificent church which was the envy of all other religious orders, and the admiration, not only of the inhabitants, but of foreigners visiting the University from afar.

In the campanile of the church was a "large and melodious ring of bells, the best, as was thought, in England." They were taken to the newly-founded college of Christ Church on the dissolution of the abbey.

The chief approach to this once famous abbey was by a footway over Bookbinders Bridge, through the Hamel, across what is now High Street St Thomas's, and along a broad paved way still called Church Lane.

The present Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, formerly dedicated to St Nicholas, and built for the people while

Stephen was besieging Matilda in the castle, was one of the many chapels attached to the abbey; it was used by the "servants, tradesmen, and mechanicks that lived within their limits, as also strangers and pilgrims. . . ." King, when abbot, in 1539, surrendered the place to the tyrant Henry; as a reward for his loyalty to the new Head of the Church, he was made a titular bishop with his Abbey Church as cathedral, and afterwards translated to the newly-created See of Oxford. Afterwards the Abbey Church was taken down "and great havoc made thereof." Bishop King's house is still standing in a narrow street opposite, called Rose Place.

Oseney was sold to a rich cloth merchant of Malmesbury named Stump, and to-day nothing remains to indicate its former glory. About Oseney Mill stand a few inconsiderable fragments which sadden the eye. The ruined church remained in Queen Mary's time, when Mass was again said within its walls: some kind of service was also held in the reign of Elizabeth. King Charles I. in 1644 was forced to demolish the great walls and towers to form breastworks for the defence of the city. The foundations were dug up and the soil ploughed, according to Hearne, in 1718, but Dr Johnson, a half century later, saw some ruins there: "Sir, I viewed them with indignation."

The northern portion of this same Oseney Island was given in the year of our Lord 1281 to the Cistercian Monks of Thame, by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, that they might pray always for the health of his and his father's soul. In due time Rewley Abbey arose. The church stood by the lock as one crosses Hythe Bridge. The house and refectory were "encompassed with rivulets, pleasant walks, and convenient fishponds." There was a large gateway in stone, on which were displayed the arms of the founder's father (who had been King of the Romans), a two-headed eagle, and his own crest, a lion rampant. "The number of the monks was represented by twenty-one elm trees standing in two ranks between the

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.

A Watergate (the sole remainder of the ruins) of Rewley Abbey.

[*To face p.* 49.

outward and inward Gate of the Abbey . . . and at the end a tree by itselfe which they said did represent the Abbat. . . ."

The abbey fell in the "fatall survey" of Henry in 1534; the site, *inter alia*, being granted to George Owen, Fellow of Merton, the king's physician; and afterwards it somehow came into the hands of the dean and canons of the cathedral. The abbey buildings lay just behind the present North-Western Railway Station, which, in its construction, swept the last remaining relics away, except a portion of the outer walls of the grounds and a small Gothic doorway, which may still be seen on the riverside, opposite the wall of Worcester Gardens. These same Cistercian Monks, through the influence of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, built a college to the honour of our Lady and St Bernard, in the street now St Giles'. After its suppression in 1539, its buildings, gardens, and enclosures, etc., except the bells and lead, were granted to Christ Church. Its foundation as St John's College will be described in the proper place.

It is not wonderful that the learned Benedictine Order should have early found a home in the intellectual centre of England. They had several foundations in Oxford. There were students of this order here as far back as 1175, if not earlier. In 1283, Sir John Gifford founded a college for the monks of Gloucester, which was called Gloucester College; either because it was formerly the residence of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester, or from the abbey of that name to which it was attached. It was afterwards enlarged in order to admit monks of other abbeys, and was situated in the fields near Beaumont Palace. Suppressed by Henry, it became the property of two of his favourite servants during their lifetime, and afterwards passed on to the first Bishop of Oxford, Robert King. After his death, the See, being for some time vacant, it was allowed to fall into ruins, being eventually purchased by Sir Thomas White, who re-

founded it as Gloucester Hall. The ancient buildings which are still standing will be mentioned later.

The Benedictine Monks of Durham sent scholars to Oxford in 1286. A few years later, Richard de Hoton, "sometimes sub-prior of Lychfield, . . . provided a place at Oxford and there began to build." Durham College arose on the site now occupied by Kettle Hall in the Broad. The college was maintained out of the treasury of the Abbey of Durham; but in addition, Bishop Hatfield and others made generous gifts, in return for which, prayers for their souls were to be duly recited. The chapel, built in 1330, was dedicated to "the honour and memory of the most Holy Trinity, the blessed Virgin Mary, and the most glorious confessor, St Cuthbert." After its dissolution in 1541, it was in the possession of certain scholars who for sixteen years kept it up at their own expense. Its site reverted to King Edward in 1552, who granted it to George Owen, Esquire, of Godstow, and Henry Martin, gentleman, of Oxford. They sold their right and the property to Sir Thomas Pope, who later founded the present Trinity College.

In 1362, Simon de Islip, formerly scholar of Merton and then Archbishop of Canterbury, bought up several halls and tenements to the north of St Frideswide's Priory, which had apparently been made tenantless by the ravages of the pestilence of the years preceding, and established a hall. The warden and three of the fellows were to be Benedictines of Christ Church, Canterbury; the rest, seculars. One of the objects of the foundation was to improve the intellectual status of the secular clergy, whose ranks had been terribly thinned by the same devastating plague, and very inferior men had been ordained to fill the gaps. Here in 1492 came a young student, Thomas More. He was afterwards to figure in history as the first layman to be Chancellor of England, and in the annals of the Church as a martyr.

The first warden not proving successful, the archbishop appointed the famous John Wyclif in his place; but the monks objected because he was a secular priest. On the death of Archbishop Islip, Wyclif was ejected, but not before much trouble and litigation; not so much, it would appear on account of his being a secular priest (though this was the pretext), or because the new Archbishop Langham was himself a Benedictine, but because his doctrine had already become suspect.

At the dissolution of the college under Henry, the new hall was first let to Richard Master, who, becoming a member of Christ Church, seems to have used his influence in getting it transferred to that college, for it now forms Canterbury Quadrangle.

The Dominican or Black Friars found their way into Oxford soon after the establishment of their Order in 1221. They were presented with a site in Jewry, just behind where now stand the new Municipal Buildings in St Aldate's, by Isabel de Bulbeck, the wife of the Earl of Oxford. Says Anthony à Wood, that most painstaking of antiquaries, ". . . coming near Oxford (they) prayed to God with hands lifted up to Heaven, that as they had made a fair progress hitherto, and had been kindly received by all, so they through his mercy might be received with the same courtesie by the Oxonian students. At their entrance they applied themselves to the grandees of the Universitie, and at length to the Canons of St Frideswide's, those of Oseney, and to the chief burgesses of the towne. With the former they obtained respect by reason of their learned parts in philosophy and divinity; with the said canons and burgesses love and tenderness, because of their simple and saintlike carriage. At length diving into the favour of all persons in these parts, they obtained a seat in Jewry, to the end that by their exemplary carriage and gifts of preaching, the Jews of Oxford might be converted to the Christian faith. Soon after, a 'fair oratory' was built in

addition to the house, by the countess and other benefactors, among whom was the Bishop of Carlisle." Afterwards, on account of the increasing number of their scholars, they "translated themselves to a pleasant isle in the south suburbs," the piece of ground being given them by King Henry III. This island, formed by the circumfluence of the Trill Mill stream on the north and the Isis on the south, was in the parish of St Ebbe's, but beyond the ancient city wall, a portion of which may still be seen in Brewers Street. The stream, which flowed from the Castle Mills, still exists in probably, however, diminished volume; but it is now much covered over. Its course may be traced to the south of Paradise Square, under Bridge Street, Littlegate, and along Rose Place; it flows across St Aldate's, underground, along the present Broad Walk with the Cherwell. This so-called island contained three acres of land "encompassed with waters, with a grove, pleasant and shady walks by the river sides; also all the church, lodgings, librairy, schoole, and cloisters; and fishponds; with a tenement adjoining to the gate." The "faire and stately Church" was dedicated to St Nicholas (not to be confounded with the Church of Oseney of the same name, now St Thomas's) by Richard Gravesend, the Bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1228.

The Dominicans gained renown in the schools and became famous as canonists, so that Pope Boniface VIII. made them the censors of books published in Oxford. Among their learned men were: John Giles, Robert Bacon (uncle to the celebrated Roger Bacon, the Franciscan), St Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, Thomas and Walter Joyce; the former was made a cardinal, the latter Archbishop of Armagh. They succeeded so well in their work of converting the Jews, that the king established a house for the converts in Fish Street, where the Town Hall now stands.

On the dissolution of the priory, it was sold by King Henry to Richard Andrews of Hales and John How, and

afterwards passed into several hands. Nothing now remains but the name, as seen in "Blackfriars" Road, "Friars" Street, and "Friars" Wharf.

When the church was pulled down, Sir Thomas Pope, building and founding Trinity College, bought the stones and used them to erect the enclosure wall that runs along Park Lane.

The Franciscans or Grey Friars came to Oxford shortly after their brethren the Dominicans. Father Richard Ingworth (or Ingerwood) and Father Richard Devon were the first to arrive from London. Being about six miles distant, they lost their way, and going to a grange belonging to the Benedictines of Abingdon, situated in a vast wood "between Baldon and Oxon," knocked at the door, and begged for the love of God food and shelter for the night, and protection from the wild beasts. The porter received them willingly enough, but the prior, not recognising their habit which had suffered much from swollen rivers and thorny bushes, and thinking them to be strolling jesters, sent them away. Then the porter, who seemed to have had more shrewdness or piety than his superior, went after them, brought them back and lodged them in a hay-loft, giving them food and drink. Another account says that being thought to be mummers, they were admitted to make sport to amuse the brethren, but being found to be a kind of religious were dismissed with scant courtesy; and that the same brother who had befriended them had a dream in the night, in which he saw his prior accused by the Poor Man of Assisi and condemned to punishment for his want of hospitality.

But the friars, rising early, went their way towards Oxford, discoursing of holy things, and begging the Mother of Mercy to prosper their undertaking. Coming in sight of the city, they prostrated themselves on the ground before God, and wept and prayed. As soon as they entered the city, they

presented themselves to King Henry, then residing at his Palace of Beaumont, and then went to their brother mendicants, the Dominicans, who cordially welcomed them and gave them hospitality, until by favour of the king they were able to hire a house, which they did in St Ebbe's Parish, near the church and within the wall.

By their preaching and good example, they so won the favour of the people, that they were given several adjoining pieces of land on which to build a friary.

Later, several dignitaries of the Church, among whom was the Bishop of Hereford, relinquished their temporalities and assumed the habit of the friars; and shortly after, to the edification of all, were to be seen with "the coule and hod," carrying water, stones, and mortar for the speedier building of their new home. As their numbers grew, the king, who was a great friend of the religious, gave them part of the island called Paradise Garden; their territory thus extended, was separated from that of the Dominicans by the Trill Mill stream. In 1238 they had completed their "large and beautiful" church just outside the wall, and "remote from the hubbubs of the city." Their chief entrance was on the east side, leading from Water Gate to Preachers Bridge. On the stream, their southern boundary, they had a mill, and round about a pleasant grove of trees, divided into several walks, "ambits," and recesses, with a garden and orchard. Their northern boundary was the city wall, through which they had an entrance into "Freren" Street, between St Ebbe's Church and West Gate. Their buildings, "stately and magnificent," were not equalled by any others in Oxford, except St Frideswide's and Oseney. Their reputation for piety was such that "people took great comfort on their death-beds" if they were assured that their bodies would be buried in Grey Friars Church. But, Ichabod! the greed of the Tudor tyrant has left not a stone remaining, and barely a name; for John Gunter, to whom it was sold,

lost no time in pulling down the church and uprooting the trees.

The Franciscans produced a long list of learned men, among whom we must mention the following: Father Adam Marsh, called the Illustrious Doctor, who made Oxford famous throughout Europe; Roger Bacon, the pioneer among men of science, "the greatest genius of the thirteenth century"; John Duns Scotus, the great champion of our Lady's Immaculate Conception; William Ockham, the brilliant philosopher; Peter Philargi of Cyprus, who afterwards became Pope Alexander V.; and many others.

An amusing story is told of Friar Agnell, the first minister or guardian of the Friars Minor in England. Being a pious man rather than a scholar, he built a lecture-room in order that his young men might not become contaminated by the gay undergraduates of the time. Here he invited professors to teach, and among them came the eminent Robert Grosseteste; when he was once presiding over a dispute in the manner of schoolmen, "whether there was a God," the father guardian entered the room to see what progress his young men were making in their studies. Understanding the nature of the disputation he cried out in alarm, "*Hei mihi, hei mihi! Simplices coelos penetrant, et literati disputant utrum sit Deus!*" He even sent to Rome to have the decretals changed, so that scholars should be bound to "lay aside their sophisms, much admired and followed in those days." This good man died in the odour of sanctity, and many miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb.

A branch of the Franciscan Order called the Brothers Penitentiary of Jesus, introduced into England in 1257, came to Oxford in 1262. These Sackcloth Brothers, as they began to be called on account of their dress (for in the spirit of penance they wore nothing but a very coarse cloth next their skin, and wooden clogs on their feet), having prostrated themselves before King Henry, obtained from him a piece of

ground outside the west gate, on the site of a former church dedicated to St Benedict, but destroyed in the war between Stephen and Matilda. The Countess of Warwick also befriended them, and gave them money with which they bought more land. But the Holy See, always prudently averse to excess of any kind, suppressed them as a separate order. Most of them then joined the Franciscans proper, into whose hands their church and friary came in the year 1307. The Franciscans returned to Oxford in 1906, and have established a school for their Order at Cowley.

The Carmelites or White Friars were introduced into England by Sir Richard de Grey and Sir John Vesey, who being commanders in the crusading army, ascended Mount Carmel, and finding there some of their own countrymen among the friars, were much attracted to this order, and induced the prior to send several of their number to found a monastery in England. They settled at Aylesford in Kent, about the year 1238. Though, like other religious orders, they sent young men to study in Oxford, among whom was St Simon Stock, twenty years elapsed before they had a house of their own. Then Baron Nicholas de Meules (or Molis) bought one for them in Stockwell Street: a street at that time in the suburbs, lying at the back of the present Worcester College. Here they remained for nearly sixty years. But as their numbers increased and there was no more land about them which they could buy, King Edward gave them his own palace of Beaumont. This act of generosity was in consequence of a vow he had made to our Lady when flying from Robert Bruce of Scotland after the Battle of Bannockburn. Being in desperate straits, his chaplain suggested that he should promise the Mother of God to build a house for her sons of Carmel, should she grant him a safe return. Unable to build a house, he gave his own palace, situated between Brokenhays on the south, Stockwell Street on the west, the parish of St Mary Magdalen

on the east, and Beaumont fields on the north; that is to say, it was at the north-west end of Beaumont Street, as it is now. At first the friars used the parish church of St Mary Magdalen, and a path led to it from the priory; of this path what is known as Friars Entry still remains. Afterwards, they built a beautiful church of their own, with a "faire steple" in which was a peal of bells; there were also cloisters, walks, and a stately hall wherein "divers kings have kept with great solemnity the Nativity of Christ." They boasted a long line of eminent professors and scholars; among these latter was Reginald, afterwards Cardinal, Pole. Nor were they behind the other orders in respect of their libraries.

Henry VIII. gave the house and other tenements adjoining to Edmund Powell of Sandford in exchange for five acres of garden land in New Windsor, and £338, 5s.! Most of the buildings were at once pulled down; the stones of the great hall were conveyed to St John's College, then in course of erection. Many of them may still be distinguished in the college front, in the second storey, facing the Martyr's Memorial. Part of the church remaining was for some time used as a cowhouse.

The Austin Friars, who had become renowned abroad for learning as well as piety, took a house near the schools in Oxford in the year 1252, the year of a great pestilence. They very soon attracted the attention and favour of Sir John de Borstall, who by licence of Henry III. gave them a piece of land just outside the Smyth Gate, in the parish of St Cross or Holywell, near where Wadham College now stands. The first piece of land being too small, the king commanded his tenant, the rector of St Peter's-in-the-East, to add an adjoining piece. Other generous benefactors followed the royal example, until in due time a fair mansion and church were erected. At first they attended lectures at the Franciscan Halls, but bitter disputes arose because some of their promising men exchanged their habit for that of the more

popular rough serge; then the Austin Friars built spacious halls of their own, one for theology and another for philosophy. Later, they eclipsed all in disputation, and were so "esteemed of by the grandees and generality of the University," that it was decreed by statute that no one should take his master's degree until "he was thought worthy or could answer these Augustin Fryers." Consequently doing one's "disputations in Austins," or more shortly "doing Austins," was a common household expression long after the monasteries were destroyed.

At the suppression, Henry VIII. let the buildings to Thomas Carwarden, who afterwards converted them into money by selling both stone and timber. Edward VI. sold the property to the Duke of Suffolk; in the time of James I. it had come into the hands of the city, which derived an annual revenue from a fair held at the gates. The site was eventually sold to Nicholas Wadham, whose widow, Dorothy, the daughter of Sir William Petre of Ingateston, carried out his bequests and built Wadham College.

The Trinitarians, or Red Friars, who for several years previously had sent students to Oxford, obtained at length a house of their own through the generosity of the Earl of Cornwall. The habit of these religious was white, somewhat like that of the Dominicans, but with a blue and red cross on the breast. Their house and chapel was situated on the way leading from East Bridge to the field behind Merton College, between what is now called the Broad Walk in Christ Church Meadows and the Botanical Gardens.

Later on, they purchased a chapel dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity (or they themselves gave it that dedication), with land adjoining, situated within the East Gate, the property of St Frideswide's; it now forms the southernmost part of New College Garden.

Nearly all the Friars were carried off by the plague of 1349; and later, the house became a hall for poor scholars

under the name of Trinity Hall, with a Trinitarian Father as principal. At the dissolution under Henry, it was given to one Robert Parret, a bachelor of music, who pulled down both chapel and house, and built in their place a barn, a stable, and a pigsty!

The Crutched or Cross-bearing Friars settled in Oxford in the reigns of the second and the third Edward. There seems to be no record of their arrival, but Richard Cary, mayor in the reign of Edward I., gave them a plot of ground by the South Gate, where Pembroke College now stands. Later on, the same benefactor, just before his death, gave them money with which they purchased land in the parish of St Peter's-in-the-East, where they built an oratory. They received an injunction from Merton College, in whose gift the parish church was, that one of them should pray daily in the oratory, then in course of construction, for the founder, warden, and scholars of the college, and give twenty shillings yearly for the said ground. They seem to have been very demonstrative in their devotions, for in the same injunction they are forbidden to "celebrate divine service in their oratory with a loud voice, when the parishioners were at High Mass in the parish church, excepting on the two feasts of St Cross. . . ." It would appear that they refused to take this injunction to heart, but continued to infringe upon the prerogatives of the parish church, for the Abbot of Oseney, authorised by the Bishop of Lincoln, ordered them away. This was in 1352, before they had completed their buildings; and we hear nothing more of them.

There were besides in Oxford several hospitals in the care of the religious; one in Stockwell Street, another called "Bethlem in St Giles'," a third near St Peter's; a fourth, named St Bartholomew's, on the east of the city, a quarter of a mile distant from St Clement's Church, the grounds of which are described as "a pleasant coppice or grove, situated on the ascent of a little hill." An old chapel remains on the

site, which belongs to Oriel College. It is used as a hennery. Lastly, there was the hospital of St John the Baptist, outside the East Gate, where Magdalen College now stands.

An almshouse stood somewhere in the parish of St Cross; an anchorite lived against the wall of St Giles' Church; there was a hermitage on South Bridge, the hermits of which, among other servile occupations, were employed by the city to keep the bridge in repair; also another attached to the small chapel of "Our Lady in the Wall," already mentioned, near St Frideswide's grange; that is, at the city side of Milham Bridge, and opposite the south-east corner of the wall.

III

OXFORD'S OLD CHURCHES

1. *St Mary-the-Virgin.*—Among the many glorious historical monuments of Oxford still remaining, the Church of St Mary-the-Virgin, commonly called the University Church, certainly ranks foremost. Its first beginning, like that of the University itself, is lost in obscurity. It is mentioned in the Domesday Book as belonging to the king. The entry is to this effect: " . . . to the lands which Albericus (Aubrey) holds, belongs one Church and three mansions: of which two lie at St Mary's Church and yield 28d., the third at Burford yields 5s.," etc. It was therefore very early endowed, the patron being the reigning king. Edward II. appropriated it to his college of Oriel, with the burden of two or more priests to serve it.

In the year 1487, being in a ruinous condition, the University undertook to put it into repair, the Bishops of Rochester and Lichfield, with the Warden of Merton, contributing to this end. There were originally five chapels, dedicated respectively to Our Lady, St Catharine, St Anne, St Thomas, and St Nicholas; but these distinct chapels were pulled down, for they were dangerously decayed, and there were no sufficient funds to restore them. Our Lady's Chapel (now called the Brome Chapel from Adam de Brome, the first provost and chief benefactor of Oriel, who built or restored it), is to the north-east. De Brome and several of his successors are buried here, and the brasses of his tomb

remained till the reign of James I., when they were stolen; the thief was caught and put in the pillory with his booty about his neck; but the brasses were never restored to their proper place. St Anne's Chapel was on the north, next to Our Lady's; St Catharine's, likewise on the north, stood near the stairs which led to the old library. Here Mass was said daily for the souls of the founders and benefactors of the library, as at St Anne's for the soul of Edward II. and other benefactors of the Church. Masses were also said daily at the altars of the other chapels for the souls of other devout persons who left endowments for this pious purpose.

To the north of the chancel stands the old Congregation House, or Council Chamber of the University, built, it is said, by St Hugh of Lincoln in the year 1147. It is now so disguised on the outside by false windows as to be hardly distinguishable from the church itself. It has two floors or stories, as may be seen on closer scrutiny from outside on the south, the upper floor appearing through the glass about half-way up the last window. In the lower chamber the University congregations were formerly held, while the upper one was the library. This upper room is now a kind of museum containing the stone statues that at one time adorned the tower; the lower is rented from the University by the vicar and used by him as a parish room.

Nothing, apparently, of the first church remains; the present tower and spire were built by Edward I., who himself collected money for them, and when he visited the city in 1286, must have watched their progress. Twelve statues still stand about the spire, but they are all new except one; the old ones just mentioned were found to be dangerous and were taken down in 1861 and 1896, except the one on the north-east, which has a more ornate canopy; it is that of St Thomas of Canterbury, and was once held to be miraculous.

The present nave was built in the reign of Henry VII., who showed his interest in the work by sending forty oaks

from Shotover as his royal contribution. The chancel was erected some thirty years previously. Both are in the very best style of perpendicular. The present porch, the most recent addition architecturally, was put up by Dr Morgan Owen, chaplain of Archbishop Laud, then chancellor. It is in the Renaissance style. The architect is believed to have been Inigo Jones: the mason was that "Smith of London" who built the marvellous staircase at Christ Church. The old porch, destroyed in 1637 to make way for this, had above it a room, entered by the staircase, a portion of which remains to the left, inside the church; herein, for centuries, undergraduates were orally examined for what is still called "Responsions." The room was called the "parvise," and the examination termed *responsiones in parviso;* from this, by a natural confusion with the word *parvus* (small), seems to be derived our colloquial name of "Smalls" for this examination.

The sedilia in the sanctuary, and much of the rest of the woodwork there, dates from the fifteenth century. On the steps by the altar rails is a small stone to preserve the memory of Amy Robsart, who was buried here with great ceremony in 1560. The vice-chancellor, Francis Babington, sometime Master of Balliol, who had formerly been chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, preached the sermon, and had the courage to speak of her as "so pitifully murdered." It is significant to note that the preacher, in consequence of his words, found it convenient to leave the country. He was afterwards condemned as a "Romanist" and all his estates declared forfeit. Near the altar also, and at the south end of it, was buried Cardinal Newman's mother. At the time of her death he was vicar. On the slab are her initials, J. N.; the date, 1836; and a simple "In pace." Until the reign of Charles II., when Archbishop Sheldon, then chancellor, built the theatre named after him, the nave of this church was used for all kinds of public University affairs. The chancel screen-wall shut off the sanctuary so effectually, that there was no suggestion of irrever-

ence. Here disputations on all subjects, the conferring of degrees, the time-honoured Encœnia and other University festivals were continually held. Here, it will be remembered, Cranmer received his unexpected sentence of death; or rather the sentence already passed was confirmed, and not, as he had anticipated, annulled. Immediately opposite the present pulpit the base of the pillar, as will be seen, was cut away to accommodate the low platform on which the fallen archbishop was expected to make his final recantation to the people, by way of reparation for all the mischief he had done by his false teaching.

It was on September 12th, in the year 1555, that the unhappy man, summoned by the Pope's delegate, Dr James Brooke, Bishop of Gloucester, was brought from the Bocardo Prison to the chancel of St Mary's. Here before the high altar was erected the platform on which sat the Pope's delegate, with Dr Martin on his right and Dr Storey on his left, being Her Majesty's commissioners, to administer justice, or rather, to use the delegate's own words, "to examine him in certain matters," and so "to make relation thereof to him that had power to judge him."

This platform, which it is said was ten feet high, was so arranged that the papal delegate sat under the Blessed Sacrament. In those days it was reserved in a silver dove-shaped tabernacle high above the altar. The poppy-heads of the choir stalls, as is still seen, were cut off to accommodate this improvised court.

The proceedings opened by an exhortation from the Pope's delegate, who did all that could be done to bring Cranmer to a sense of his guilt. Taking for his text the words, "Be mindful therefore from whence thou art fallen; and do penance, and do the first works" (Apoc. ii. 5), he reminded him from how lowly a position God had raised him, and how zealously in the beginning he had maintained Catholic doctrine; but that afterwards by stoutly upholding

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Nave of the Church of St Mary-the-Virgin, looking east.

[*To face p.* 64.

Great St Mary's, Oxford.

[*To face p. 65.*

the unlawful request of King Henry VIII., "he had exiled a good conscience," and had fallen "from schism to apostasy, from apostasy to heresy, and from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so, in conclusion, into the full indignation of his sovereign prince, which he might think a just punishment of God for his other abominable opinions." And all this, because "when he had forsaken God, God had forsaken him, and had given him over to his own will, and had suffered him to fall. . . ."

After using many arguments to show the archbishop the error of his position, the delegate concluded in these appealing words: "Cast not yourself away: spare your body, spare your soul; spare them also whom ye have seduced; spare the shedding of Christ's blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the prescript word of God, to the Catholic Church of Rome, to the received verity of all Christendom. Wed not yourself to your own selfwill. Stand not too much in your own conceit, think not yourself wiser than all Christendom is beside you. Leave off this unjust cavil. . . . Persuade yourself that, *Extra ecclesiam non est salus*, i.e., without the Church there is no salvation. And thus much have I said of charity. If this poor simple exhortation of mine may sink into your head, and take effect with you, then I have said as I would have said, otherwise not as I would, but as I could for this present."

Dr Martin then, in like manner endeavoured to convince him of the importance of submitting to the Holy See, reminding him that he had, at his consecration, taken two solemn oaths of allegiance to the reigning Pope. Cranmer being permitted to reply, protested that he would never consent to the Bishop of Rome having jurisdiction within the realm of England, "for," said he, "I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's laws. . . . The king is head in his own realm. . . . The Bishop of

Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to His laws." He then taunted the delegate on his own temporary disloyalty to the Holy See, who replied that he, Cranmer, had been the cause of it. Whereupon Dr Storey begged the delegate to allow him to answer, and proceeded to show the superiority of the spiritual over temporal authority; commended the charity and patience of the delegate, and rebuked the archbishop for his stubbornness. Then Dr Martin endeavoured by arguments and interrogations to convince the miserable man of his error concerning the oath he had made to King Henry. But it was all in vain. Cranmer was driven by the force of the logic of his position to admit that even Nero was head of the Church "in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the Church consisteth. . . ."

Fearing that the people might be scandalised by the public profession of heresy which Cranmer had made in this reply, the delegate closed the examination by pointing out to the wretched man his dangerous state as a formal heretic, and then showed how our Lord had made St Peter head of the Church on earth; he then answered Cranmer's objections against the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and thus concluded: "Thus much have I said, not for you, Master Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and past; but somewhat to satisfy the rude and unlearned people, that they perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancy, may the better eschew your detestable and abominable schism." Further examination went on under Dr Storey, and then Cranmer was taken back to the Bocardo Prison.

On 14th February 1556, he was brought to the gates of the cathedral, and there solemnly degraded from his episcopal dignity, according to the stern form prescribed for such a sentence, by Bishops Bonner and Thirlby. One by one the sacred vestments were stripped from him: his hands were

scraped, as a sign that the anointing conferred at his ordination was done away with. Habited no longer as an ecclesiastic but as a yeoman, he returned to prison. We cannot wonder that Thirlby, who had at one time been on intimate terms with him, could not restrain his tears. Yet never, surely, was that dreadful punishment more deserved. He had entered on his office with a shameful perjury, taking a solemn oath of obedience to the Pope, and privately protesting that he had no intention of keeping it. He had aided and abetted each new crime of Henry VIII. He had not even shrunk from sending to the flames as heretics men whose only crime was their refusal to apostatise from the old faith, and own the tyrant king as supreme head of the Church.

In prison he was not idle. In a long letter, in which he roundly abused the Pope, he appealed from His Holiness' authority to that of a general council; he wrote two or more dictatorial letters to the queen and to his judges; finally, he signed several recantations, and thus sought and obtained reconciliation with the Church. After his recantation he was for some time the guest of the Dean of Christ Church, and honourably treated: a fact which surely goes to show that though heretics were, according to our ideas, brutally treated, their treatment was, so to speak, impersonal; they were regarded as the enemies of God and of His truth; heresy was an evil to be crushed out at all costs. The authorities, it would seem to us, adopted the wrong means of crushing it; but this was due to the temper of the age. It is for the impartial student of history to judge whether Catholics or Protestants were the more merciful in the use of their power.

Cranmer evidently thought that he had obtained his object, and would be let off the extreme penalty he had incurred. But the harm he had done was too great to admit of this. According to the notions of that age, public justice demanded satisfaction; he was brought to St Mary's Church, not to receive a pardon, but sentence of death. Here Dr Cole

preached a sermon explaining that inasmuch as he "had been the great setter-forth of all this heresy received into the Church in this last time; had written in it, had disputed, had continued it, even to the last hour . . . it was expedient that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation." He then exhorted the hearers to take warning from what was to take place, commended Cranmer for "coming home" to the Church, encouraged him "to take his death well," and promised that Masses and a dirge should be sung for the repose of his soul.

But now it was clear that the wretched man had altogether lost his faith; for having knelt down and read out a prayer, he rose before the people and repudiated his recantation; denounced the Pope "as Christ's enemy and Antichrist," and reasserted his misbelief on the Blessed Eucharist. The people, many of whom were touched with compassion at the copious tears he shed, were now roused to indignation at the way he had deceived them, and rising up hurried him off to his death, which, undoubtedly, he bore with great constancy, holding his right hand in the flame, as having sinned, as he said, in signing contrary to his mind.

The stirring scenes and disputations that took place in this same nave during the reign of Elizabeth have already been mentioned as part of the brief historical review; one interesting event remains to be told. On 27th June 1581, the University assembling to hear the accustomed commemoration sermon were startled beyond measure to find the benches covered with copies of Father Campion's famous controversial work, the *Decem Rationes*, which Antony Muret calls "a golden little book, writ by the very finger of God." It is a complete apologetic for the Catholic Church, in which that finished scholar brings scripture, the fathers, and the councils to bear witness to the religion which had held sway in England for at least twelve hundred years. In it he makes a most touching appeal to "Elizabeth, most mighty Queen."

"I tell thee," he cries out, "one heaven cannot gather in Calvin and these thine ancestors. Join thyself therefore to these princes, else shalt thou stand unworthy of that name of thine, thy genius, thy learning, thy fame before all men, and thy fortunes. To this end do I conspire, and will conspire, against thee, whatever betideth me, who am so often menaced with the gallows as a conspirator hostile to thy life. All hail, thou good Cross! The day shall come, O Elizabeth! the day that shall make it altogether clear which of the two did love thee best: the company of Jesus, or the brood of Luther!" Small wonder that the undergraduates seized and read the book while the commemoration service was going on, and small wonder that this awakened a great indignation. Oxford was set ablaze, and deans, archdeacons, and professors of divinity set about answering the fiery brochure; but little came of it. A few answers appeared in due course, but were chiefly concerned with heaping personal abuse upon the author. William Hartley, who had courageously strewn the books over the benches, was afterwards caught and butchered at Tyburn.

The present pulpit, as may be surmised from its high and prominent position, is modern; it was erected in 1827, as were also the seats, galleries, inner porches, and screen. The vice-chancellor's seat faces the pulpit from the north; doctors of divinity sit to the right and left of him, the proctors a little in front. Masters of Arts take the seats to the west of the pulpit; bachelors, the corresponding seats to the east; undergraduates occupy the galleries.

It was from this pulpit that John Keble, on the 19th of July, in the year 1833, preached his famous assize sermon on "National Apostasy"; the sermon which Newman always regarded as the public inauguration of the great Tractarian Movement.

From this pulpit, during upwards of twelve years, the preaching of Newman exercised its deep and enduring influence over the rising generations of undergraduates. The "solemn music"

of his voice, the sweetness of his manner, the impelling logic and literary beauty of his preaching, made him so singularly attractive, that we are told several College Heads altered the time of the service in their chapels in order to prevent their young men attending. As long as St Mary's Church stands, Newman will need no other memorial in Oxford.

In this church, the Bodleian or University library had its beginning; it may therefore be conveniently mentioned here. The nucleus consisted of books and manuscripts kept in chests and only used under the supervision of graduates. In the fourteenth century, a room was built for their reception on the north of the church, as we have said above. In the reign of Henry II., the king's uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, presented his library to the University, and in consequence, the University built what is now called the Old Divinity School; the upper part being the library. It runs east and west, facing Exeter College garden and the court of the Theatre. In the year 1550 it fell a victim to Edward's "Commissioners for the reform of the University," as has been mentioned, and was left so desolate of books that the vice-chancellor ordered the shelves to be taken down and sold for firewood!

Sir Thomas Bodley became second founder, and in the year 1602, it was refurnished and reopened. He made a compact with the Stationers' Company that a copy of every book published should be sent free of charge, which compact is now confirmed by a Copyright Act.

In 1611, Bodley built the first portion of the quadrangle, which was completed after his death, between 1611 and 1626. The Tower of the Five Orders, with its sculptured figures of James I. handing a book to the kneeling University, was designed by Thomas Holt. The vain monarch had them gilded, and a contemporary relates that they shone so as to dazzle the eyes.

Fifty years ago, the Radcliffe Camera was added to the library as an additional reading-room and storage for modern books; books, that is, published since the year 1840. It was originally a medical library founded by the celebrated physician of that name, whose books are now conveniently housed in the Museum.

2. *St Martin's, Carfax.*[1]—In the centre of the ancient city, where the four main streets meet at right angles, stood the city Church of St Martin. It is the church of which we have the most ancient record, and was evidently the first of the parish churches. This record is found in the register of Abingdon Abbey, and shows that King Cnut, "by God's free mercy and especial goodness, king of all Albion, . . . granted for ever the small plot of ground . . . and a certain little church (monasteriolum) dedicated in honour of St Martin, Bishop, together with its adjacent land in the city called by the famous name of Oxford, to our Lord Jesus Christ and His ever Virgin Mother Mary, for the use of the monks in the place called by the celebrated name of Abingdon." This was in the year 1032; Siward, the abbot, being a personal friend of King Cnut's. This gift was confirmed to the abbey by two bulls of Eugenius III., dated respectively 1146 and 1152, and preserved in the Abingdon Chronicle.

It was, in every sense of the word, the city church: the rendezvous of all sorts and conditions of townsmen, and the very centre of civic life, just as St Mary's was the very heart of the University. In the churchyard to the west of the church was erected a shed, in which the portmannimot or town council assembled; while from what was afterwards known as Penniless Bench, a low shed leaning against the east end of the church, the mayor and bailiffs administered justice. Here also, in presence of the corporation, public proclama-

[1] The word Carfax is derived from, or rather is a corruption of, the Latin "Quadrifurcus," four-forked, and comes through the French. It appears in various forms as *carfoaks*, *carreforc*, *carrefour*, *quatre-voies*, etc.

tions were made; royal, or other distinguished visitors were formally received and presented with addresses; and citizens, "for disloyalty, dishonesty, or other loude behaviour were disfranchised," or when they had made their humble submission, restored again to their freedom, and "newlie admitted and sworne." Here, in 1409, in the presence of the University authorities, the heretical books of Wyclif were publicly burnt; and in 1457, those of Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, who in defending the Catholic doctrine against Wyclif fell into an opposite error. Near here also was a public pump and the pillory; where, for instance, John Willison, a tailor, for speaking seditious words, and saying that "he shold se er he died friers and monks uppe again," was in 1541 condemned "there to stond from the begynning of the markett tyll the ende, wyth a paper upon his uppermost garments declaring his offence. . . ." At other times it was, we may believe, the harbour of roisterers and corner-men, according to the lines of Warton:

> "Beneath thy shelter, pennyless, I quaff
> The cheering cup."

It was also called the Old Butter Bench, and probably used as such by the country people when they brought their butter to market, before the other Butter Bench on the south side of the church was erected. For Carfax was the centre of the market which was held in the streets, each different kind of trader having his allotted station. Farmers, driving their cattle across the ford, or later over the Grandpont Bridge, found it convenient to stop near here in order to effect a sale. The several items in the city accounts "for cleaning away the dirt from the Church at Carfax," speak volumes. The tavern, wherein the terrible affray between the gownsmen and townsmen began on St Scholastica's Day, and noted elsewhere, stood just opposite.

The church consisted of a nave, two aisles, and a tower. The architecture of the interior, according to the churchwardens' accounts of 1540, was very noble. The aisles, separated by three arches on each side, were supported by octagonal columns, capitals, and bases, beautifully proportioned, very lofty, spacious, and uniform. There were four chapels: our Lady's, where several chantry Masses were daily sung; that of St Thomas the Martyr on the north, St Catharine's, and a "Jesus Chapel"; this latter being devoted to Our Lord's Sacred Passion. Several guilds or confraternities, notably the guild of tailors, were attached, and here held their meetings.

Above the east end of the south aisle was a clock beneath a slight canopy, and on each side of it a wooden figure which alternately struck the quarter-hours; the figures were, in consequence, called the "quarter boys." In the tower was hung the "common bell" which to within the last century rung the curfew; it also called the citizens together in case of fire or attack, and is especially notable as summoning the townsmen in their frequent riots with the scholars. In 1321, the scholars made complaint to the king that the citizens had raised and crenellated the walls of the aisles like a fortress, in order to overawe them. Edward III. ordered the tower to be lowered in 1341, because "upon complaint of the scholars, the townsmen could, in time of combat with them, retire to their tower as to their castle, and thence gall and annoy them with arrows and stones."

There is a strange item in the city accounts for the year 1580-1, "for a proclamation agaynst the Jesuyts," whom Sir Walter Mildmay on the opening of Parliament in the same year describes as "a sort of hypocrites, naming themselves Jesuites, a rabble of vagrant friers, newly sprung up, running through the worlde to trouble the Church of God." The Earl of Leicester, then chancellor, wrote a letter to the University in the following year, in which, after referring to

ITY OF ST. MICHAEL
LIBRARY

several disorders that required attention, he goes on to say that "the chiefest points are the want of instructing your youth in the principles of religion, the little care the tutors have that way, and most especially the suffering of secret and lurking Papists amongst you, which seduce your youth and carry them over by flocks to the seminaries beyond the seas." The University, in consequence, appointed by statutes a succession of preachers at St Mary's, and, says Wood: "These heads or articles for the expelling of popery being confirmed by the University, were imitated in another way by the citizens in founding their lectureship and selecting two zealous Calvinists for that work."

In March, therefore, of the same year, the city council unanimously agreed that henceforth, on every Sunday and holiday in the year, the aldermen, bailiffs, chamberlains, and all the freemen of the city "shall at the tyme of the ringinge of the bell for the sermon come together to the penniless benche or thereabouts, and stay theare untill the commynge of the Mayor or his deputie, and shall from thence, every man in his degree and callinge, and orderlie apparraled, go and accompanye the mayor of the said cytie to the sermon," under pain of a fine.

Shakespeare, on his journeys to London, was accustomed to stay at the Crown Inn which stood near the church. He was godfather to Sir William Davenant, the son of the vintner, who was born here; it is likely, therefore, that it was in this church he stood to the christening.

The tower, very much renovated, alone remains. The rest of the church was taken down in 1896 because, as it abutted on the narrow street, it greatly impeded the traffic. This hindrance to the traffic was made acute by the laying down of the tram lines in 1881.

Such of the parish duties and responsibilities that remained were transferred to the Church of All Saints, which has added the dedication of St Martin to its own.

3. *The Church of All Hallows*, now called St Martin and All Saints, is practically a new church, though of ancient foundation. As early as the year 1122, it was given and confirmed to the canons of St Frideswide's Abbey by King Henry I. There were four chapels, dedicated respectively to the Most Holy Trinity, Our Blessed Lady, St Anne, and to some other saint whose name has not survived. The guild of glovers, whose shops stood between the church and the Mitre Hotel, had a Mass celebrated here every Trinity Monday before going to their elections; and were bound by their ordinance to keep a light burning to the praise of the Most Holy Trinity, in the side-chapel dedicated to that mystery.

Edward II. gave the church to the bishops of Lincoln, and subsequently it was annexed to Lincoln College by the founder, Bishop Flemyng; from which time it has been a chaplaincy in the gift of the college.

The present structure, with its graceful spire, was rebuilt from the ground by Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, in 1708, in consequence of the fall of the spire of the former church, which almost totally destroyed it, in 1699. The mayor and aldermen have their stalls on the south side of the chancel, the stalls of the fellows of the college being on the north. The old perpendicular font is the one transferred from Carfax Church on its demolition, as mentioned above.

4. *St Aldate's Church.*—Built within the old wall near the South Gate, the church is of very ancient foundation, and is one of those mentioned in the Domesday Survey. The origin of the title is obscure, for there is no saint of the name. Anthony à Wood boldly derives the word from a British bishop named Eldad, who is said to have been Diocesan of Gloucester as early as the year 450 A.D., and in consequence gives it a British foundation on the supposition that the Saxons or Danes would hardly be likely so to immortalise a

saint of that nation. Others say that it acquired its name from being called the Church of the Old Gate, just as St Martin's was called Carfax Church; but there is no record of the South Gate being thus designated, and moreover, the church which formerly stood nearer the gate was one dedicated to St Michael, now no longer existing.

In old documents it is variously written St Olave's, St Toll's, St Old's or St Told's, and lastly St Aldate's. The fact that St Olave's in Exeter is also called St Tooley's, and that both names are preserved in Southwark in St Olave's, Tooley Street, would seem to show that St Olave's was the original name. St Olave or Olaf was the ancient King of Norway, both saint and martyr, whose feast is kept on 29th July.

The church, which was originally built in wood, was in the patronage of Abingdon Abbey and St Frideswide's alternately. Afterwards it became annexed to Pembroke College, the students of which used the south aisle as their chapel until their own was built. Formerly the south aisle had an upper story, in which was a library for the use of students in civil law.

The present building is comparatively modern, and was completed as late as 1874. On the north side of the present chancel, now used as a vestry, is an arcade of five small Norman arches, the only relic of the old fabric. There is also an ancient font, with a curious painted cover depicting the souls in purgatory. Several chantry Masses were endowed by pious patrons, to be said *in perpetuo:* now it is the home of what is termed Evangelicalism.

5. *The Church of St Ebbe.*—Situated a little to the west of St Aldate's, in a street now called Church Street, but formerly Penifarthing Street, and not far from where the old West Gate stood, is the church of St Ebbe. It is dedicated to St Ebba (or Tibba), the daughter of Ethelfred,

King of Northumberland, who became Abbess of Coldingham, and died in 683 A.D. Several chantries or endowments for saying Mass for the donors were attached to the church.

The present singularly plain and uninteresting building was erected and finished in 1817. Two Norman doorways are all that remain of the former church.

6. *St Michael's Church.*—At the North Gate of the ancient city stood, and still stands, St Michael's Tower, which, with the Castle mound, is almost the only relic of Saxon times. As it originally stood a little apart from the church itself, it is often ascribed to Robert D'Oilly, who probably only strengthened and partly reconstructed it, in its native style. The church is noted in the Domesday Book, and the priests who served it are described as owning two mansions which yielded a tax of twenty-two pence. There were several endowments for Masses to be said in the Lady Chapel, also for lights and ornaments for the statues of our Lady, St Catharine, St George, and others. Richard Flemyng, Bishop of Lincoln, in his love for his own college, attached it to Lincoln in 1429, giving satisfaction to St Frideswide's Abbey, to which it belonged. Great alterations and renovations were made to the fabric in the middle of the last century, so that it is difficult to say how much of the old building remains. Some small pieces of ancient stained glass of considerable interest are to be seen in the windows. In a chancel window on the north are two small figures, one representing St Edmund of Abingdon. In the top lights of the middle window of the north aisle is a lovely group, in which a flowering lily is seen to reveal a figure of the Crucified.

Over this North Gate, which spanned the street here, was the celebrated prison called the Bocardo. It has been ingeniously suggested that it was so called from the figure of logic of that name, "out of which the reasoner could not

bring himself back into his first figure without the use of special processes." The gate and the prison were taken down in the year 1771.

7. *The Church of St Michael at the South Gate.*—Of this church little or nothing appears to be known. It stood at the South Gate, hence the ancient distich thus translated:

> "The North and South Gates St Michael doth guard;
> The East and the West St Peter doth ward."

It was demolished by Cardinal Wolsey, and its site is occupied by the south-west corner of the great quadrangle of Christ Church College.

8. *St Peter's-in-the-East.*—The church is mentioned in the Domesday Book. It fell into the hands of D'Oilly, who is possibly responsible for the present chancel. It is interesting to note that in 1320, Henry Burwash, Bishop of Lincoln, granted forty days' indulgence to all who attended the sermons preached within its walls. The crypt is entered by an open doorway on the south side of the church and from without. The chancel has a stone-groined roof, and over the altar end, St Peter's chains, writ large in stone, form the intersecting arches. The tower at the west end dates from the fourteenth century; the south wall belongs to the Norman structure, as also the rich south doorway of beakheads and zigzag mouldings; the porch with the parvise or upper chamber is of the fifteenth century; the east-end watch-turrets have lately been "renovated"; over the south door, the one now generally in use, are ancient, small statues of SS. Peter and Paul, the centre niche standing vacant. The old Lady Chapel now does duty as a vestry and organ chamber. Adjoining this again, is a small chantry chapel, now dismantled and filled with horse-box pews.

St Peter's Church is a living in the gift of Merton College. When the Church of St John the Baptist became the Chapel of Merton, its parish was annexed to St Peter's.

9. *St John the Baptist.*—As a parish church, St John's was of ancient foundation. In 1265-8 it was given to Walter de Merton by the Abbey of Reading, and became the chapel of his scholars, retaining, however, for some time, its position as parish church. It was afterwards pulled down, and the present more beautiful and commodious chapel erected in its place. Its rededication was by Archbishop Chichele in 1424. The present kitchen of the college stands on the site of the former Lady Chapel.

10. *The Church of St Cross, or Holywell Church.*—The church is thus variously called from a miraculous well which was formerly a little to the north of it, and now lies buried beneath the chapel of the adjoining Anglican convent, and also from a particular cross that stood at the entrance of the choir. The well, known as that of SS. Winefride and Margaret, and much frequented on account of many cures wrought at it, dates back to Saxon times. It is referred to in the Domesday Survey thus: "The Church of St Peter of Oxeneford holds of Robert two hides in Haliwelle." Holywell Church was built as a chapel-of-ease to St Peter's before mentioned, the builder or restorer being Robert D'Oilly. Of the ancient fabric, the plain Norman chancel arch alone remains; its estimated date is 1100-30. The lower part of the tower, with its lancet window, is of the thirteenth century; the belfry stage, having arches on its north, south, and east sides, was rebuilt in 1464 by Henry Sever, Warden of Merton, Chaplain to Henry VI., Chancellor of the University, and first Provost of Eton. There was a Lady Chapel to the north of the chancel, in which was endowed a chantry Mass; the chapel is now used as a vestry and organ chamber. The church was "restored and redecorated" in 1893-8. The Oxford Penitentiary, occupying the old manor-house, is to the north and is in the care of Anglican sisters. The old manor-house was at one time the residence of the Napiers (or Nappers), a family who remained faithful to the Church during the days of

persecution. One of them (as will be seen later) suffered martyrdom in Oxford. In this old manor-house local Catholicism was kept alive during penal times.

11. *St Peter-le-Bailey, or St Peter's-in-the-West.*—The church was built within the old west wall; but nothing now remains except the name, for in the year 1872-3 the church was demolished when the road was widened, and the new church of the name was erected at a little distance farther north, in the street now called New Inn Hall Street. The old church stood at the south-west corner of this street, and formerly within the *bailey* (ballium) or courtyard of the castle, hence its name. The church is known to have existed in the twelfth century, when it was granted to St Frideswide's by a charter of Henry I. It had four chapels, one of which was dedicated to our Lady, another to St Clement, and a third to St Andrew, when the church dedicated to that apostle was destroyed.

12. *The Church of St Andrew.*—The site of this church is unknown, as likewise its history.

13. *The Church of St Thomas the Martyr.*—This church, as has been before stated, was built by Oseney Abbey for the dependants and tradesmen thereof, while Stephen was besieging his rival in the castle, in the year 1141. It was originally dedicated to St Nicholas of Myra (or Bari), the Santa Claus of children; but afterwards rededicated to St Thomas of Canterbury. It was built because, while the castle was in a state of siege, the parishioners of St George within the castle walls had no church to go to; once built, it evidently became popular, and was allowed to stand permanently. The present church has been built and rebuilt during subsequent periods; but some of the ancient fabric remains. The chancel is pure Norman; the tower is perpendicular, as also is part of the nave; the porch was built in 1621 by Robert Burton of the Anatomy of Melancholy, then vicar; the aisle on the north side, in the decorated style, is as

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.] Church of St Thomas the Martyr.

[*To face p. 80.*

Photo. : Wheeler, Oxford.]

Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. A stone corbel in the Bodley quadrangle.
(Copied from an old portrait.)

[*To face p.* 81.

recent as 1847. There is a priest's door in the sanctuary with its original iron-work still intact. Another interesting feature in the church is that on a south-east buttress is an exterior dedication-cross, the only one in Oxford. The living is now a vicarage in the gift of Christ Church. St Thomas is a centre of Ritualism in Oxford, as will be seen by its ornamental assimilation to Catholic worship. It is worthy of remark that this was the first church to introduce Eucharistic vestments in the Communion Service of the Church of England.

14. *The Church of St George.*—Built as the chapel for the Augustinian canons by Robert D'Oilly, it became the Parish Church when they were transferred to Oseney; and being a dependency on that abbey, it fell with it under Henry VIII. It was probably the first church dedicated to the martial saint in England, and later on the same saint was made one of the patrons of the city by unanimous vote of the council. His statue stood above the high altar, and before it a light was kept continually burning; the expense of the oil was defrayed by every freshman being compelled to pay a small fee on his entrance into the University. His feast-day on the 23rd of April was kept with great solemnity; sermons were preached, indulgences granted, and a banquet given at the abbey. The church adjoined the old tower, still standing, which did duty as a campanile. During the erection of the prison on the site in 1805, an old crypt, probably Saxon, was discovered, and carefully moved out of the way to a little distance, where it may still be seen.

15. *The Church of St Mary Magdalen.*—The church was built in the suburbs outside the North Gate before the Conquest; but centuries of progress have carried the town far beyond its limits. It came into the hands of Robert D'Oilly, as did so many other lands and churches, for William was very generous with other people's property, and his supporters were well rewarded; it was well, therefore, that D'Oilly, after being a robber, became a church restorer.

Otherwise very little would have remained to tell Oxford's ancient story. The church is unique in being, with its three aisles, broader than long. The south aisle, dedicated to Our Lady of Pity, was built by St Hugh of Lincoln about the year 1190, and later was refitted by King Edward II. as a chapel for the Carmelite Friars, to whom he had given under vow his own palace of Beaumont. The Friars (p. 56) had a path to this chapel, of which "Friars Entry" still remains. The north aisle was built or restored by Lady Dervorgilla, the foundress of Balliol, as a chapel for the scholars, and dedicated to St Catharine in the year 1280; it was rebuilt in 1841. The upper part of the tower was rebuilt about 1536, with stones said to have been taken from Rewley Abbey. The parapet of open trefoil work dates, it is said, from about 1335 A.D. The graceful statuette of St Mary Magdalene on the exterior of the tower is said to have come from the ruins of Rewley. A piscina in the south chapel, a holy-water stoup by the south door, niches for statues here and there, and an old brass tablet begging the prayers of the charitable for the soul of one Philippa Caxston, tell us of what faith were the former owners. In the north aisle on the left is preserved the stout oaken door of the cell in Bocardo wherein Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were imprisoned.

16. *The Church of St Giles.*—The church was built in what were then the pleasant fields of Beaumont, beyond the North Gate and away from the haunts of men. It now marks the northern boundary of Oxford's industrial activity. St Giles or Ægidius, abbot of a monastery in France, was the patron of lepers, and may still be regarded as such. Churches of this dedication were always built without the walls of cities. This one was consecrated by no less a personage than St Hugh of Lincoln, the patronage being given to Godstow Nunnery. One of the consecration crosses may be seen on the west pillar of the north arch of the tower,

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.]

Crypt of the Ancient Church of St George, Oxford Castle.

[To face p. 82.

enclosed within a protecting oak frame. Several chantry Masses were endowed to be said in Our Lady's Chapel on the south side of the chancel. The tower is late Transition; most of the fabric dates from 950 to 1180 A.D. In the north aisle were several separate chapels, each lighted by double or triple lancet windows, one of the earliest instances of this work in England. The south aisle is early English; the font is a rare specimen of the Perpendicular, with tooth moulding, which would point to its being carved in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Adjoining the churchyard on the north is a gabled stone building dated 1659, the successor of the older Lazar House. In the tower is a fine peal of six bells, each bearing an inscription; one of these has the legend: "Sonitus Egidii conscendat culmina cœli," which may be freely rendered:

> "May the sound of this bell of St Giles'
> Ascend heaven's loftiest aisles!"

The Lady Chapel shares the fate of so many others that have passed out of Catholic hands, being converted into a vestry and organ chamber. There are no less than four now useless *piscinæ* still remaining, and a niche in the porch for a holy-water stoup.

17. *St Clement's Church.*—Similarly situated outside the East Gate stood the ancient church dedicated to the fourth Pope. It was removed in 1828 because it obstructed the traffic, and now stands back from the road, in the fields within the angle formed by Cherwell Street and Marston Road. Part of the old churchyard, which still remains at the parting of the road over Magdalen Bridge, called "The Plain," marks the ancient site. No record of its first foundation is extant, but it is mentioned in 1122 as confirmed to the canons of St Frideswide's Abbey by King Henry I. Newman worked as curate of this church in the early days of his Anglican ministry.

18. *St Mildred's Church.*—St Mildred was the daughter of Merivale, son of Penda, the King of the Mercians. The church was situated on the north side of the first quadrangle of Lincoln, and was used by the scholars before their chapel was built. Brasenose Lane crosses the ancient churchyard, which extended to Exeter College wall and into the Turl.

19. *St Edward's Church.*—Dedicated to St Edward, King and Martyr, the church stood somewhere between the High and the gardens of a Christ Church canon. Its name alone remains in the street called after the saint, on the south side of High Street, opposite All Saints' Church. It was of ancient foundation, being mentioned in 1122 as confirmed to the canons of St Frideswide by favour of Henry I. Later it was pulled down, and its small parish absorbed into that of All Saints.

A church near the Castle Mill was dedicated, as we have seen, to St Benedict, and put in charge of the Friars Penitentiary. Other half-conjectural local churches were dedicated to St Andrew, to St Edmund, and to St Bodhor, probably the same as the St Budoc or Budeaux once popular in Cornwall. There seems to have been yet another edifice called Dantesbourne Church near Folly Bridge. But all these have vanished and have left no history.

To sum up, there were in 1440 twenty or more parish churches, three wayside chapels, three great monasteries, five friaries, five monastic colleges, three hospitals, six university schools, nine colleges, and eighty-four halls.

IV

THE COLLEGES AND HALLS

1. Merton College

Though two other colleges contend for prior places in the list, Merton has, it would seem, the best right to be considered the first.

The claim of University College to have been founded by King Alfred the Great is no longer seriously considered; but the fact that Master William of Durham, dying at Rouen on his way from Rome, bequeathed 310 marks to the University "for the purchase of annual rents, unto the use of ten or eleven or twelve or more masters, who should be maintained withal," and was the first to do this, gives colour to the plea that the college, afterwards founded with his money and to his memory, should be considered the most ancient. A similar claim is made by Balliol to be reckoned second. But it should be remembered that neither assumed the present collegiate form until Merton led the way.

Walter de Merton was born at Merton in Surrey, and derived his cognomen from his native town. He was educated at the priory there before coming up to Oxford to complete his course. His great talents won for him the highest dignities, and in the year 1258 he was made Chancellor. Having no children of his own to provide for, he early conceived the idea of devoting a portion of his estates

to the education of his nephews and young relatives. Then came the civil war, which taxed all his time and energies. On the defeat of the king's party, to which he had given his strenuous support, he perforce resigned his chancellorship and found leisure to mature and develop his preconceived plans.

To devote money to the education or the support of students was no new thing; but de Merton applied to his project a statesman's mind. With the revenues of his estates at Malden, Farleigh, and Chessington in Surrey, he first founded at Malden what he called "the House of the Scholars of Merton," which was "to support for ever thirty scholars in the schools of Oxford, or in any other place where studies flourished, and also two or three ministers of the Altar of Christ residing in the same house." The scholars, then, were to reside in Oxford (that is, if Oxford were to continue a good place for study: a problematical question in those troublous days); but on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, eight or ten of the older and discreeter men were to visit the house at Malden in the name of the community, both as a sign of their proprietary rights, and also to see that the estates were properly managed. These twenty scholars were to be chosen in the first place from the founder's kin, and secondly from outside, with a preference for the diocese of Winchester. They were to live in community like religious, but without being bound by vows. They were to wear the same dress, in token of unity and mutual affection; to live frugally without murmuring, being content with bread and beer, and one course of flesh or fish a day; to talk Latin, except in time of recreation; to be silent at meals, and listen to one of their number reading to them. In short, they were to observe much the same kind of discipline as is enjoined in any Catholic seminary for secular priests in the present day. Indeed, the main object of the founder, as finally matured, was by this means to raise the academic tone of the clergy who did not enjoy the

privileges of the great religious orders, as well as to educate citizens worthy to occupy high positions in the state. Each was to receive 40s. a year from the warden at Malden; but if any student entered a religious order, or showed himself averse to regular study, or received a richer benefice, or proved disorderly, he was to forfeit his maintenance and leave.

There is no justification for the inference commonly drawn from the regulation about taking vows, that de Merton was opposed to the religious orders. The same rule holds good of secular colleges in Rome to the present day, and as likely as not, the founder derived his rule from them.

The warden was to be chosen by the twelve senior scholars, and the bishop was to ratify it. One of the scholars was to devote himself to the teaching of Latin grammar, in order that even older scholars might have recourse to him "without blushing," in any trivial difficulty. Undoubtedly we see here the first inception of the college tutor. In every room an older socius or fellow was to act as *præpositus*. To every twenty scholars was to be chosen a monitor, *vicenarius*; and over the whole society in Oxford a *custos* or warden. Later, a sub-warden, three deans, and three bursars were nominated by the archbishop. Thus at length was constituted a self-governing, corporate, secular community, with property in common, a common rule of life, and a common aim: in short, the first college as we understand the term to-day; and other founders were not slow in copying their model.

The scholars were to study theology, the crowning science, in order to become afterwards successful parish priests; but not before they had completed their course in arts and philosophy. Four or five, whom the warden and their companions knew to be "modest, humble, and honourable, full of zeal for God, and for souls," were to be allowed

to study also canon law, in order to be able to rule the church.

The founder also established a hospital for sick members at Basingstoke, and a preparatory school for children who had no parents or no means of sustenance; this latter house was at Malden. Besides the fellows and scholars, who in the beginning were equal in dignity, a second class of students, called *portionistæ*, curiously translated "postmasters," was founded in 1380. These portionists received only a portion of their maintenance, and not all the privileges of the full scholars. Gradually from this beginning, three classes have evolved: fellows, elected graduates who form the teaching and governing class; scholars, called postmasters, chosen by a competitive examination to receive from the funds of the college a definite sum towards their maintenance; commoners, introduced in the year 1497, who pay the whole of their fees and expenses.

In the year 1266, a vacant plot of land running alongside the parish church of St John the Baptist to the city wall, and carrying with it the patronage of the church, was granted to de Merton by the abbot of Reading Abbey, and confirmed by King Henry. In the same year, by permission of the bishop of Lincoln, he took over the church; later, he purchased other portions of land adjoining, and so by the year 1268 he had acquired the whole of the present site. Hereon were built a common refectory and kitchen, sleeping rooms, and a hall, "disposed in an unconnected manner about a quadrangular court after the fashion of the outer *curia* of a monastery." The present disposition of the quadrangle was introduced into Oxford by William of Wykeham in 1379, and was afterwards adopted by all the colleges.

In the year 1274 Walter de Merton resigned his seals of office as chancellor, and completed his work as founder of the college. He received from the King, his brother the

King of the Romans, and many other benefactors, gifts of land in various places, and finally decided that there should be but one home and place of habitation, and that in Oxford. Here, then, his little community settled down under Peter de Abyngdon as warden, and in 1280 was solemnly confirmed in its constitution by Pope Nicholas III.

Of the first buildings of the college very little remains, except, perhaps, the walls of the hall and the great north door of its vestibule, with its fantastic iron tracery, and the muniment room. There is also a quaint stone entablature now placed above the main entrance. Hereon are depicted in the centre the Sacred Book closed, with the Agnus Dei on its right, and the founder, as bishop of Rochester, in cope and mitre on its left; over the Book are heads of the royal supporters symbolical of the king's patronage; to the extreme right is St John the Baptist holding a church in his left hand; and to the left dogs seeking several rabbits that are in their holes underneath the soil (the rabbits evidently representing the students safe within the college, and the dogs, the evils without); there are above, fruit-trees and birds, and in the centre, the mystic pelican feeding its young. The present buildings consist of the chapel, the hall, the library, the muniment room, and five quadrangles.

The treasury, or muniment room, still standing over the main entrance into Mob Quad, is said to date even before the building of the college, being originally the counting-house of one Jacob the Jew, from whom it was purchased by the founder. Force is given to this belief by the fact that, not only is the building in stone (a peculiarity of Jewish tenements at one time in Oxford), but even the extraordinarily high-pitched roof is made of solid blocks of ashlar "laid like common pavement both within and without," so as to "make many to wonder that it does not fall in." Adjoining is the outer sacristy, almost equally ancient. Opposite is the library, which occupies the whole upper portion of the south,

and the greater part of the upper portion of the west side of the same quadrangle. It was newly built in the year 1377-8, by William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, and is, possibly, the oldest example in England of a mediæval library. It contains several oaken chests in which the MSS. of the college were originally kept under three locks, as also old desks and a table on which books of reference were chained. Why the "Mob quad" is thus designated is not known: it is interesting as being the oldest existing quadrangle in Oxford.

The old parish church was early pulled down after it came into the possession of the college, and the present chapel, in three stages, was erected in its place: first, the choir about the year 1294-7; then the transepts were finished in 1424; and finally the tower, a splendid specimen of the best style of the Perpendicular, and one of the glories of Oxford, in the years 1448-51. The chapel, like all the old Oxford chapels, has no nave; but it is clear from the two arches on the west of the tower now filled up, that it was originally intended one should be built. Meanwhile, William of Wykeham had finished his chapel of New College, and deliberately planned that it should be without a nave; and so Merton, seeing the convenience of this form for college chapels, altered its first design and filled up the arches. The chapel in consequence has an unfinished appearance. Besides the high altar consecrated in 1297, there were four others: one to St Jerome and another to St Andrew stood outside the choir, under the great rood-loft, to the south and north respectively; our Lady's altar, to which were attached two chantry Masses, stood in the south transept, as also did one to St Catherine under the still remaining beautiful Catherine-wheel window. The north transept was set apart, until quite recently, for parish purposes, where the font still stands. On each side of the window facing the street, are two ancient statues, one of our Blessed Lady and another of the patron saint of the church.

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Merton Chapel, looking east.

[To face p. 90.

The front of the college was rebuilt in 1588-9 by the then warden, Sir Henry Savile, a famous Greek scholar, and one of the translators of the Authorised Version. The south side of the front quadrangle is formed by the refectory or hall, almost entirely remodelled in 1790-4; the west side is the east end of the chapel.

It is unfortunate that the old St Alban Hall quadrangle had to be pulled down three years ago, on account of its unsafe condition. Originally built by Robert de St Alban, a citizen, and given to the nuns of Littlemore in 1220, the houses were leased to Merton. It passed entirely into the hands of the college, on the dissolution of Littlemore Nunnery, for the founding of Wolsey's College. The hall was finally incorporated with Merton College in 1881. It is interesting to note that Newman was vice-principal of the hall, then a distinct corporation, in the year 1825. The new buildings are from the designs of Champneys.

The Fellows Quadrangle was finished as late as the year 1610; the gateway closely resembles the Bodleian Tower, displaying four orders of columns: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite. The senior common-room (the first of Oxford common-rooms), was instituted in 1661, and is in the west wing on the second floor.

To the south-west of Mob Quadrangle stand what are still called the new buildings, at which Oxford has not ceased to hurl anathemas; for not only are they in the worst possible taste, but a delightful miniature forest called Merton Grove was felled to make room for them: a grove of elm, chestnut, sycamore, and ash, which, with the venerable tower and buildings, combined to make one of the most beautiful pictures in the world. It is but poor consolation to know that in this evil day, that is, from 1861-4, Mob Quadrangle and the library only just escaped destruction.

Along the south of the college runs a part of the city wall, with a bastion towards its eastern extremity. Outside the wall

is "Dead Man's Walk." It is uncertain what is the origin of this name. Some have connected it with the tragic death of Colonel Francis Windebank in 1645. That young officer was shot after trial by court-martial, for the surrender of Bletchingdon House to the Parliamentarians. His execution, however, did not take place here, but in "Broken Hayes," now "George Street."

It is sad to have to relate that de Merton's scheme of founding a community of young men who should live the life of religious without religious vows, failed from the very beginning. Their visitor, Archbishop Peckham, as early as the year 1284, was compelled to issue a severe rebuke for their grave violations of the rule. They would not obey their first warden, and are called by the Archbishop "rotten limbs," to be "cut off if they do not amend." They quarrelled bitterly among themselves, three times a year, we are told, at their "scrutinies." The "scrutiny" was a periodical assembly of the community, in which the moral and general conduct of all, from the warden downwards, was publicly taken into account and either praised or blamed as it deserved. The practice was a common one in religious orders, the monks meeting "in chapter" for this purpose. But the attempt to transfer such a system to a body whose members were not bound by monastic vows could hardly be otherwise than a failure.

In the time when Oxford men, scholars and masters alike, were, as a class, "turbulent and aggressive . . . Merton men were in the thick of every fray": all the more so as they could well defend themselves behind their college walls. There still survives in the college library a poem of lament over the sufferings endured by them in the great town and gown fight of St Scholastica's Day.

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that because de Merton's plan failed, and few, if any, of his statutes are in

force to-day, his main purpose came to nothing; on the contrary, Merton, in spite of its failure to be a religious house without religious vows, has produced a long line of illustrious men, and, in its further developments, became the form of every college in England, as is stated on Merton's tomb in Rochester Cathedral.

Among Merton's noblest sons she claims Duns Scotus. His portrait hangs in the hall, and the tradition is strong; otherwise the evidence is against his ever having been a scholar, for he was a Franciscan friar in the year 1300, and the name in the catalogue interpreted as his is later. Still, he may have been a scholar before he became a Franciscan; or, perhaps, he lectured in divinity to the students. A chest, said to have been his property, is preserved at Merton; and his ghost is said to visit it.

Equally uncertain is the tradition which makes William of Waynflete, Bishop of Rochester, and founder of Magdalen, a postmaster of Merton. But it is certain that Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the library of that name, was fellow of this college, and here lectured in Greek in the year 1565. Dying in London in 1613, his body was brought to Oxford and interred in this chapel of Merton, where his monument and epitaph may be seen. John Sugar (m. 1604), priest, is the only Catholic martyr who was a Merton man.

William Harvey, M.D., of Caius College, Cambridge, and physician to Charles I., was, in 1645, imposed upon the college as warden by that monarch. Time works changes, for now the college is proud to have had as warden one who is known all over the world as the discoverer of the circulation of the blood.

The famous Anthony à Wood, whose grave, like Bodley's, is in the chapel (very near the east door of the north transept), lived "in the cock-loft over the bay-tree chamber" of the first quadrangle; later, and for many years, in the old Post-masters' Hall opposite the college in Merton Street, now much

altered within and without. To his valuable and voluminous works, all who essay to write of Oxford must pay tribute.

That Merton resisted the intrusions of Queen Elizabeth has already been stated. Anthony à Wood goes into detail and relates how, in 1562, Archbishop Parker put aside their election of warden and appointed John Manne instead. Meanwhile, the sub-warden, a staunch Catholic, held out. On one occasion, when the college was assembled around the hall fire, according to an ancient custom, to sing hymns in our Lady's honour, a junior fellow took up a metrical version of the Psalms instead; but Will Hawle (or Hall), the sub-warden, snatched the book out of his hand and declared that "neither he nor the rest would dance after his pipe." When at length the new warden imposed by Parker found entrance into the college through "a base and false spirit opening the gate," the sub-warden gave him a box on the ear. But submission was inevitable, and Mr Will Hawle had to go.

Later, however, the college had veered completely round, and become "the home and strength of the Puritans in Oxford." It was the centre of operations during the Parliamentary visitation in the year 1648. So it would seem to have continued all through that and the next century as an ultra-Protestant centre. It was known as a Whig college, and its members were nicknamed "Lollards."

Curiously enough, however, Wesleyanism never touched it; neither, on the other hand, did the Tractarian Movement, though Henry Edward Manning was elected fellow in 1832, and James R. Hope-Scott the following year.

Merton has several times been honoured by royal visitors, and has suffered also from their attentions. In 1518 it was the unfortunate Queen Katharine of Aragon who was entertained by Merton when she came to Oxford to venerate the relics of St Frideswide. In 1629 both king and queen were entertained at a banquet on the journey from Woodstock to Abingdon, for their warden had just been knighted.

When King Charles marched into Oxford, "the only city of England that he could say was entirely at his devotion," in the year 1643, Queen Henrietta Maria held her court in Merton, and the room over the archway leading into the Fellows Quadrangle is still called the "Queen's Chamber." A passage was constructed from it, through the hall, along the archway through the sacristy, into the chapel by a door now blocked, thence into Merton Grove and Corpus Gardens, and so to the royal apartments in Christ Church. Merton, like most other colleges, contributed most of its plate to the king's cause. Afterwards, during the Parliamentarian rule, it is interesting to note that a tutor was suspended for "entertaining strangers at his chamber with more wine than was thought convenient, and for drinking the king's health at Medley two years before."

After the Restoration, Charles II., fleeing from the plague in London to Oxford, Queen Katharine took up her lodging in Merton with her maids of honour, and Founder's prayers were recited in English instead of Latin, because there were more women in the chapel than scholars. "Again courtiers filled Merton instead of scholars, and children were born within its walls." The college got a bad reputation, and libels were pinned on the doors of the ladies-in-waiting. A college poet had the audacity to write:—

> "Our pious founder, knew he this daye's state,
> Would quit his mansions to congratulate."

But another, when they departed, wrote more to the point:—

> "We scholars were expelled awile
> To let the senatours in,
> But they behaved themselves so ill
> That we returned agen."

2. University College.

The foundation of University College began in this wise. A serious riot took place in Paris between the students

and the citizens, such as so often disgraced the streets of Oxford; King Henry III., it is said, took advantage of this strife to issue letters patent to invite "the masters and the university of scholars of Paris" to come and study in England, promising to give them ample liberty and privileges. At the same time he sent several writs to the burghers of Oxford advising them to provide all conveniences, lodgings, good entertainment and good usage in order to welcome them thither. The students were nothing loath to accept this generous royal invitation, and among the foremost was the famous Englishman, William of Durham. Of the early life and training of this *eminentissime literatus*, as Matthew Paris calls him, little is known. Born at Durham, it may be, he was educated at Oxford and afterwards took his master's degree at Paris, where he won his renown as a great professor; returning to his native country, he won equal renown as a great Churchman. He died twenty years later (in 1249) at Rouen on his way from Rome, and bequeathed the sum of three hundred and ten marks to be invested in property for the support of ten or more masters, who otherwise would not be able to "live handsomely" according to their state. There was no mention in the will, so far as we know, of the founding of a college; that would seem to have been an afterthought on the part of the University which had the disposal of the money, and the recent foundation of Merton may well have initiated the idea. The money for some time remained in a chest in the keeping, probably, of St Frideswide's Priory.

In the year 1253 a house was bought from the Prior of Brackle, merely as an investment. It stood in the angle between Brasenose Lane (then St Mildred's Lane) and School Street: that is, on the north-east corner of the present Brasenose College. Two years later, another was purchased from the Prior of Sherburn, and stood in the High, opposite the lodge of the present college. A third house,

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Walter De Merton. A figure formerly on the spire of St Mary-the-Virgin's Church.

[*To face p.* 96.

Quadrangle of University College, with statue of James II., and in the extreme right-hand corner the doorway of the old Master's Lodgings where Mass was said during that King's reign.

adjoining the south side of the former, was added seven years later, and afterwards became Brasen-Nose Hall; to-day Brasenose College Gate and Chapel stand on the site of it. Lastly, two houses on the opposite side of the High were purchased; they stood on the east of Logic Lane, and were the first beginning of the present college.

Not until the year 1280 were the first statutes put forth, and these by the University; whether by their own initiative (which seems likely enough), or according to the instructions contained in William of Durham's will, not now in existence, cannot be known. These regulations only provided for four masters, who were to be "well-learned, of good manners, and such as had ruled in arts." These four, chosen by the chancellor, some masters of divinity, and of other faculties, "bound by the faith they owe to the University," were to live together and study divinity and "behave themselves as by some fit and expert persons, deputed by the chancellor, shall be ordered." A bursar was appointed to look after the rents, and hold one of the three locks of the common chest. In the year 1292, new statutes were made in which it was laid down that the senior fellow was to govern the juniors: a headship of succession which was in force until 1332, when the master or head was elected. After seven years each fellow was to act as objector in the divinity schools, which was equivalent to taking his D.D. degree; and each year was to say, or have said, a Mass for the soul of the founder; all were to call themselves, so far as lay in their power, the scholars of William of Durham. Their house, by this time, began to be called Little University Hall; and rightly so, for it was in fact a university creation.

The legend of its foundation by King Alfred may be traced back to the year 1381, when an address was made in French to King Richard II. by the "poor orators, the masters, and scholars of your college, called Mickil University Hall in Oxenford, which college was first founded by your

noble Progenitor, King Alfred (whom God assoyle), for the maintenance of twenty-four divines for ever." About the same time they even went so far, in endeavouring to establish their ambitious claim, as to steal the chancellor's seal for a document which they dated 1220, and in which they recorded the receipt of certain moneys bequeathed by William of Durham, as if he were not the first founder, and the conveyance of tenements to the senior fellow. A statue of Alfred stood above the chapel door until it was removed by Obadiah Walker, the Catholic master in James II.'s reign; a picture of him hangs in the hall; his marble image stands over the fireplace in the common-room; another in the hall; and the crowning point of the whole legend was in 1872, when the millennium of the college was solemnly kept, during which there were dinners, toasts, and speeches. A distinguished historian is said to have sent some burnt cakes, with the interesting information that they had been dug up in Athelney. The University Annual Calendar still retains the fiction.

What is worse, is that in the reign of Charles I. the name of Alfred was put in the bidding prayer as the first founder, and its position there was in 1727 publicly defended "for the sake of religion itself, which would receive a greater scandal by a determination on the other side, than it had by all the atheists, deists, and apostates, from Julian down to Collins; that a succession of clergymen for so many years should return thanks for an idol, or mere nothing, in ridicule and banter of God and religion, must not be suffered in a court of justice." Until the year 1727 the University exercised visitorial authority, when the question coming before the King's Bench for settlement, it was decided that the college was the foundation of King Alfred, and that therefore the sovereign was its rightful visitor!

By a statute in 1292 a notable enlargement was made in the constitution of the infant community by the admission of

men who now form the chief element in every college but one (namely All Souls): *commensales* or commoners, undergraduates who pay all their expenses. The statute in question runs thus:—"Since the aforesaid scholars have not sufficient to live handsomely alone by themselves, it is expedient that other honest persons dwell with them." But before admitting anyone the fellows were to inquire secretly concerning his morals, and everyone so admitted was to solemnly promise that "while he lived with them, he would honestly observe the customs of the fellows, pay his dues, nor hurt any of the things belonging to the house, either by himself or those that belonged to him."

By the end of the fourteenth century the scholars were in possession of several houses, halls, and tenements on the site of the present college, which were adjusted to their immediate needs: buildings of clay and wood thatched with straw. They had no chapel, but made use of St Mary's and St Peter's-in-the-East, where many of them were buried. About the beginning of the next century, however, a chapel was built to the honour of St Cuthbert, the patron saint of Durham, and was consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln, Henry Beaufort; and at the end of the same century, there was a quadrangle with hall or refectory, library, and the various other buildings necessary to collegiate life.

It is sad to have to relate that none of these old buildings remain. The present long line of frontage on the High is Jacobean. There are two quadrangles adjoining; the greater on the west was built in the year 1635-57, and is one hundred feet square; opposite its main entrance and under a continuous roof are chapel and hall, the former being a copy of Oriel Chapel. The lesser quadrangle on the east, eighty feet square, owes its existence to the munificence of the famous Dr Radcliffe, whose statue stands on the inner side of its tower. Outside the same tower, facing the street, is a statue of Queen Mary II., as on the corresponding tower of the

larger quadrangle that of her sister Queen Anne. Between the great Quad and the new building on the west was erected, in 1892, an incongruous chamber for the reception of a marble recumbent statue by Onslow Ford of the drowned Shelley; the leaden cupola is an eyesore to the High, and the good taste of the memorial has been very often questioned. Percy Bysshe Shelley entered the college in 1810, thirty-one years after his father, Sir Timothy; eighteen months after, in company with Jefferson Hogg, he was publicly expelled for writing a small thesis entitled "The Necessity of Atheism." His reconciliation with his college after his death raises some interesting questions as to the immunities of genius.

How University College met the intrusions of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth has been already related; its story under James II. has yet to be told. On the king's accession, University was not behind the rest of the colleges, and "beare" flowed freely, a barrel being set without the gate for any one to drink who wished; and "the gravest and the greatest seniors were mellow that night." The conversion of the master, Obadiah Walker, made the college the centre of that short-lived Catholic movement which raised so many hopes and fears during the king's brief reign. Walker was not merely a religious, but a learned man, and round him quite a knot of Catholic converts gathered: Francis Nicholson, Thomas Deane, Nathaniel Boyse, Timothy Nourse, Abraham Woodhead (who is supposed to have converted Walker), and others. It was very natural that they should seek, and that the king should grant them permission to absent themselves "from Church, Chapel, and from all places of Common Prayer as the same is now used in the Church of England," and that they should be relieved from taking the oath of the King's supremacy; but the Titus Oates' plot had set the kingdom not long before in a lamentable, childish panic, and in consequence, suspicious eyes were turned upon them, seeing evil in everything they did or said.

Having the king's countenance, the master was within his rights in engaging a Catholic priest to say Mass daily in his lodging, and particularly so, inasmuch as he was only carrying out the conditions of the will of the founder. The Bishop of Oxford himself was not hostile to the movement. Indeed he himself proposed to the council, "whether it did not seem to be expedient that at least one college should be granted to the Catholics at Oxford, that they might not be forced to study beyond sea at such great expenses."

Later on, two sets of rooms on the ground floor of the east side of the large quadrangle, near the entrance from it to the Radcliffe Quadrangle, were fitted up as a chapel for the public celebration of Mass. But a crowd of malicious people assembled and made a noise. Some Christ Church men were low enough to teach a ribald verse to an idiot scullion, and got him to sing it outside the Master's door, and the crowd took it up:—

"Oh, old Obadiah
Sings Ave Maria:
But so will not I-a.
For why-a?
I had rather be a fool than a knave-a."

Within the college, however, both Anglicans and Catholics lived in harmony. In 1687 the king, visiting Oxford, paid a special visit also to University, and attended vespers in the improvised chapel. A gentleman-commoner made a too flattering speech, in which, after thanking His Majesty for the toleration they enjoyed, and noting that the reformation of heresy had first begun in that house, he went on to say that though the winds and waves beat, yet their Church was secure, being built upon a double rock — infallibility and the king! The statue of His Majesty on the inside, over the gate of the great quadrangle, was put there on the occasion.

A printing-press was set up in the stable, from which issued several Catholic works, notably, *A Compendious Discourse on the Eucharist.*

When the news reached Oxford of the landing of William at Torbay, the master thought it better to retire for awhile; but he was apprehended near Sittingbourne and lodged in the Tower. Even now he declined to resign the mastership, whereupon the fellows made formal complaint against him, and his name was struck off the buttery book by the vice-chancellor. Considering that University College was erected for the upholding of the Catholic religion, and the "health of the souls of founder and benefactors," it requires a bold controversialist to censure the action of Walker and the Catholic fellows.

Walker, charged with high treason, was eventually liberated and earned his bread by his pen, or endeavoured to do so. In poverty and old age he was received under the roof of his old pupil, Dr Radcliffe, and dying, was buried in St Pancras Churchyard. Sir Edward Hales, the gentleman-commoner who made the address to the king at the college, died for His Majesty at the battle of the Boyne; Robert Whyte, another convert, before the walls of Derry; Nicholson became a Carthusian monk. But the cause of the Church, for which they gave their lives, did not die with them.

Dr John Radcliffe, the pupil and friend of Walker, died in 1714, and was accorded a magnificent funeral by the University, which his splendid munificence well merited; the whole of his considerable fortune was devoted to his *Alma mater* and to his college. He was buried in the nave of St Mary's, where his only memorial is a marble slab; but he who built the Radcliffe Camera, the Radcliffe Infirmary, the Radcliffe Observatory, and the Radcliffe Quadrangle of his own college, needs nothing more.

Among the many men of University who followed Dr Newman into the Catholic Church, must be mentioned

Frederick W. Faber, a fellow. Of him, Wordsworth is reported to have said, when he declared his intention of becoming a clergyman: "The world loses a poet." As founder of the London Oratory, he became a brilliant preacher, and a prolific writer of spiritual works, instinct with earnest and moving piety.

3. Balliol College

Two years after the scholars of William of Durham had been established as a college, that is in the year 1284, Dervorguilla of Galloway, Lady of Balliol, issued the statutes which, confirmed by the University, raised the scholars of her late husband to the same dignity and privilege.

Ever since the year 1266 there had been scholars of Balliol maintained by the noble lord of that name under the following circumstances. John de Balliol, Lord of Barnard's Castle (the father of the Scottish king of that name), fell foul of the princely Bishop of Durham, Walter Chirkham. The retainers of the baron had seized certain properties of the church, and were excommunicated by the bishop; whereupon de Balliol laid an ambush for the bishop, and having captured him, subjected him to indignities, and detained some of his retinue. It is further said of Balliol that "being more covetous, rapacious, and grasping than was becoming or expedient for his soul, he for a long time unjustly vexed, and enormously damnified" the churches of Tynemouth and Durham. In punishment for his crimes, he was made to kneel before the door of the cathedral in penitential garb, to be scourged by the prelate; and besides, he was to devote money for ever to maintain several poor scholars at Oxford.

John de Balliol fulfilled his pledge. He hired a house of the University which stood outside the north city wall, in the street opposite Canditch, called then Horsemonger Street, and now the Broad. Here, as in an alms-house and without

any rules of government, sixteen poor scholars lived at his expense. When he died, his widow, inspired it may be by the example of Walter de Merton, took the work more seriously in hand.

This great and noble lady, daughter of Alan, the Prince of Galloway, sought counsel of a Franciscan friar, Richard de Slikeburne by name: the property was extended, and in the year 1282 statutes for the government of the scholars written and enforced.

These statutes, simple and brief, are in the form of a letter addressed to the first procurators, Brother Hugh de Hertipoll, a friar, and William de Menyl, a Master in Arts. "Desiring with a mother's affection," she begins, "to provide for the well-being of our sons and scholars dwelling in Oxford, we will ordain and prescribe that they do keep inviolate all that we hereinafter make known . . . to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His glorious Mother Mary, and of all the saints."

The scholars were to attend divine office on Sundays and Feast days, as also sermons and discourses; and on other days they were diligently to attend the schools. They were to obey the procurators, and also a principal whom they were to choose from among themselves, and who was to be invested with authority by these same procurators. They were to have three Masses celebrated each year for the soul of Dervorguilla's husband, her predecessors, and for her own salvation, in honour of the Holy Ghost, or the Blessed Virgin, or for the Holy Souls. They were to say grace before and after meals, and pray for the same intentions, and likewise for her children, her friends, and the procurators. The richer scholars were to live temperately, so that the poorer members might not be overburdened by their expenses. They were to apply to the procurators in time of necessity, and were to inform them if any one should murmur or complain; and the procurators, if necessary, were to expel unworthy members.

They were to speak Latin in college under pain of expulsion. Every other week a "sophism" was to be discussed and determined among the scholars, in the manner of the schools.

It is to be noted that the scholars, unlike those of the two former foundations, were undergraduates, and indeed mere boys, who were flogged in the hall for their youthful misdemeanours; and as soon as they had taken their degree or its equivalent, they were bound to leave the college and make room for others. This latter regulation was found to be a hardship, for not only did the college fall into an inferior position in comparison with others which had resident graduates and masters, but the scholars who were forced to leave were often, for want of funds, unable to pursue their studies in divinity or medicine, and failing to obtain a benefice, had often to fall back upon some mechanical employment, thereby losing all the advantages of their college life.

The question was hotly debated in the hall, but nothing favourable to the students was arrived at till some years later, when Richard Bury, Bishop of Durham, at the instigation of his chaplain and friend, Richard of Armagh, a former scholar of the college, rose in their defence. On their behalf he interested two noble barons disposed to charity. One was Sir William Felton, who impropriated to their use the tithes and glebe of Abboldesley, subject to the approval of the Pope; and the other, Sir Philip Somervyle, who with the Pope's permission revised the statutes. The scholars, as soon as these benefactors appeared, wrote a pathetic appeal to His Holiness Clement VI., stating their difficulties. The Pope replied, granting them leave to accept the tithes. He further allowed them to receive twelve pence a week instead of eight pence out of the funds; to buy books, and to remain in the college after having taken their degree, in order to study the liberal sciences, or until they shall have obtained a benefice. This was in the year 1343.

In 1503, petitions were addressed to the Holy See about the difficulties arising from the interference of the procurators, when first Alexander VI., and after his death Julius II., gave commission to the bishops of Norwich and Worcester to look into the affairs of the college, and make such changes as they thought proper. It was then that Fox of Winchester, "prelate, statesman, architect, soldier, herald, and diplomatist" as he is described, so thoroughly revised the statutes that they stood intact till the year 1800. Although Bishop Fox, as the intending founder of Corpus Christi College, must have had the regulations of his new college much in his mind at the time, nothing appears in his revision of the statutes of Balliol, but what was, so far as the exigencies of the times allowed, in conformity with the original ones. His most important change was to abolish the procurators and make the college self-governing from within. In future it was to choose its own visitor; in this it is unique, and shows its democratic spirit. The fellows were to take orders within reasonable time, or resign; the scholars were to be tonsured and wear the clerical garb, and were to wait upon the fellows at table and be content with the food remaining. The master lost some of his prerogatives, and must now share his administration with deans and bursars. The college thus remodelled is compared to a human body; the master is the head, the senior fellow is the neck, the deans are the shoulders, the bursars the arms, the chaplains are the ribs "which contain the spiritual members," the remaining fellows are the entrails, the scholars are the legs, and the servants the feet!

For some time the college had no chapel, but the north aisle of the Church of St Mary Magdalen was fitted up for their use and dedicated to St Catharine of Alexandria, the philosopher, virgin, and martyr. Gradually, land and tenements around Old Balliol Hall, as it was called, were acquired, until the site of the present buildings became their perpetual freehold.

Of the ancient buildings nothing, unfortunately, remains; but the old chapel, in use until the year 1529, is "conjecturally identified with the dining-room of the master's house." The present library was formerly the old hall, and the shell of it may well be the most ancient building now existing there; the lower part of it forms fellows' common-rooms. This library, second only to Queen's among college libraries, contains many valuable manuscripts and illuminated vellums; an exquisitely written Hebrew Bible, a Horæ B.V.M., homilies of St Augustine (xii. c.), miscellaneous writings of St Chrysostom (xv. c.), etc.

The chapel erected in 1529 was pulled down only fifty years ago, and another by Butterfield took its place as a memorial to Dr Jenkyns.

As to the present buildings, the whole of the south front looking on to the Broad was erected in 1867-9, and includes the tower gate and the master's lodging; the chapel being on the farther corner of the quadrangle to the right as one enters this porch, and the library on the left. The buildings at the south-west corner, in an Italian style of architecture, are named after Henry Fisher, a former fellow and benefactor, and were erected in 1769; the new buildings overlooking the Martyrs' Memorial were erected in 1852, and include an additional porch with tower; the spacious dining-hall behind dates from 1877.

Balliol has much to boast of, but not its present buildings; and the last addition, containing ten sets of rooms and a lecture hall in raw yellow stone, which forms the northernmost boundary and faces St Giles, would be hard to beat for ugliness in this or any other university.

The Reformation found Balliol staunchly Catholic. When the autocratic Henry required the oath of royal supremacy in things divine, it alone dared to modify it "as far as they might without prejudice to divine law and the orthodox faith." In these days, this may seem

to have been little enough; it was much in those days of terror. So, inch by inch, they disputed the inroad of Protestantism, and as late as 1560 said the office of the dead for their benefactors. William Wryght, Master of Balliol on the accession of Elizabeth, resigned, it will be remembered, rather than submit to her exactions, and several fellows followed his example.

Even so, the men of Balliol were far from tamely accepting the theology provided for them by the queen's divines; the college became the battle-ground of conflicting opinions, and among the men themselves were continual changes of front as first this and that theological notion gained the ascendancy in their minds. Among the most brilliant of these debaters was Robert Parsons, the bursar, afterwards a famous Jesuit. For rebuking the young men for eating meat in Lent, for refusing to receive Protestant ordination, and also for exposing the unjust practices of Adam Squire the head, he was obliged to resign. He was accused of falsifying his accounts as bursar, of being a Papist in disguise, and of having been born out of lawful wedlock, therefore ineligible according to their statutes. The first of these accusations was a mere retort; the second charge had this amount of truth in it, that he was gradually attaining conviction as to the truth of the Catholic claims; the third was a mere calumny. After his resignation he was permitted to retain his rooms and pupils for awhile; a proof that the charges made by his enemies were not substantiated. His power as a controversialist raised him enemies, and he was obliged to leave the University, when, it is reported, the bells of St Mary Magdalen were set ringing. He determined to go over to Italy and study medicine at Padua; but stopping at Louvain on his way, he made the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius and altered his plans, being received into the Society of Jesus. This was in 1575. Of the colleges he founded abroad, notably St Omer's (the present college of Stony-

hurst, Lancashire), and the many learned works he wrote, and the many narrow escapes he had in England in his zeal for its conversion, and his later policies, this is hardly the place to speak. He died as rector of the English College at Rome, and was buried in the chapel there. It has been said that his *Christian Directory* must have converted more souls than that celebrated work contains words. Thenceforth Balliol sank into a "stronghold of blatant Puritanism to vex the soul of Laud."

But Balliol sank still lower later on, and, if we are to believe the chronicler of the period, took to heavy drinking! One author relates the following incident:—"There was over against Balliol a dingy, horrid, scandalous ale-house, fit for none but draymen and tinkers, where Balliol men continually lay, and by perpetually bibbing added art to their natural stupidity to make themselves sots. In vain Dr Thomas Goode the Master warned them against 'that hellish liquor called ale,' for they replied that the vice-chancellor's men also drank it at the Split Crow too. The old man, not to be nonplussed, packeth away to the vice-chancellor, who answered him roughly that 'there was no hurt in ale.' He returned, and with a spice of humour informed his delinquents that 'since the vice-chancellor gave his men leave to drink ale, he would also do so, and now therefore they might be sots by authority!'" This same vice-chancellor, who was president of Trinity, is said, in his extreme old age, to have been found sitting in his garden throwing stones at such of the windows of Balliol as had any glass left in them, "as if happy to contribute his share in completing the appearance of ruin."

It was under the masterships of Bishop Parsons, Dr Jenkyns, Dr Scott, and Dr Jowett that the college, from the beginning of the last century, gradually attained to the high level of scholarship which it still retains.

The revival of the religious sentiment in Oxford under the Tractarians met with little sympathy in Balliol; indeed, it was

steadily resisted. Its chief upholder, William George Ward, whose brilliant dialectics made the senior common-room a place of attraction, was asked to resign, though it is said that Dr Jenkyns shed tears at his departure. The complaint brought against him by his chief intellectual opponent, Tait (afterwards Archbishop), was that he taught men to think that they must either believe in the one true Church or nothing at all; and that, in consequence, he unhinged the minds and ruined the characters of the young men brought under his influence. His "degradation" made his resignation inevitable.

Ward came up to Oxford from Winchester as a commoner of Christ Church, and then migrated as a scholar to Lincoln, where he graduated, winning second-class honours in greats and mathematics. He was then elected fellow of Balliol, and from the Broad Church school of thought of Arnold and Whately, became, under the influence of Newman, the boldest thinker among the Tractarians. In 1844 he published *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, in which the Catholic Church and not the Anglican is held up for veneration. No wonder that the University was ablaze, as when Campion scattered his *Decem Rationes* on the benches in St Mary's Church. He was deprived of his tutorship and prohibited from acting, as he was accustomed sometimes to do, for his friend Frederick Oakeley, the college chaplain. Shortly after came the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, on which day it was his turn to read the epistle in the Communion Service. As he essayed to do so, the master rushed from his place, and before Ward could begin, gave out the title of the epistle and read it with unction at him. It must have seemed singularly appropriate. But a more dramatic scene was to follow. The wheels of the University moved slowly but surely.

Summoned before the vice-chancellor and the hebdomadal board, Ward gave no satisfaction, and in consequence

convocation was summoned to consider whether he ought not to be degraded from his degrees of B.A. and M.A.

The Sheldonian Theatre was filled from roof to floor with masters of arts from all parts of England. Before the question *Placetne* was put, Ward was permitted to state in English his grounds, if he had any, for showing that he should not be degraded. He rose to the occasion and defended his position "boldly, clearly, with great self-possession." On the question being put, the censure of the passages from the *Ideal* was carried by 777 votes to 391; and the resolution as to his degradation, by 569 to 511. But, surely, a triumph, such as is accorded to few men, was his. Said Dean Stanley to Professor Jowett standing near: "They never would have let Ward speak in English if they had known how well he could speak."

Oakeley left the college to become a Catholic with Ward. Manning had left years before, and was then Archdeacon of Chichester. He became a Catholic six years later, that is, in 1851. His portrait by Anderson hangs in the hall.

Of Balliol's present broad, tolerant, and even democratic spirit, Toynbee Hall is a standing witness.

4. Exeter College

Given a man like Walter de Stapeldon, the times in which he lived and the apparent need, and the foundation of another college may be said to have been inevitable. For the colleges already in existence were established exclusively for men of Durham and the northern counties. In those days, the wide differences of sympathy, of character, of custom, and even of local language, made imperative the foundation of a separate college for each different province, and de Stapeldon saw the need of a college for his own diocese of Exeter and the western counties.

Born at Stapeldon manor in North Devon, he studied at Oxford and became professor of Canon Law; afterwards he

was chaplain to Pope Clement V., and was elected to the bishopric of Exeter in the year 1307. He was sent by Edward II. as envoy to the court of France; but being a man of irreproachable integrity, became peculiarly obnoxious to the intriguing parties of those stormy times, and had to flee to England to avoid assassination.

The next year, that is in 1326, the king himself, being obliged to flee from London, left him in charge of the city, for he was the most capable man he had; but the populace, blind to their own interests, rose up against all authority, took possession of the Tower, setting free the prisoners, and then, meeting the bishop as he was riding to his inn in Cheapside, dragged him from his horse, stripped him naked, and beheaded him. His body, first buried in St Clement Danes, was afterwards removed to the high altar of his own cathedral.

Stapeldon Hall, as it was first called, was founded in the year 1314, for scholars (really fellows), resident or born in Devon or Cornwall. The scholars, only twelve at first, were to wear the clerical dress with black shoes, and were to conform in all things to the regular clerical life. But they were to study philosophy: an injunction which goes to show that the founder intended them to follow secular, as well as clerical callings. His object was to assist poor deserving laymen to equip themselves for the higher professions: there are no grounds for the oft-repeated assertion that de Stapeldon founded his college in hatred or contempt of the friars.

There was to be a chaplain in priest's orders who should devote himself to their spiritual welfare, and also study theology or canon law; and a rector whom the scholars should elect from among themselves, their choice to be referred to the chancellor in case of dispute. The chaplain, when he celebrated Mass, was to make a memento of the bishop, Sir John Tollir, a canon of Crediton, and Master Peter de Skelton, from whom the first hall on the present site of the college was purchased; he was also to recite daily the

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.]

Dervorguilla, Foundress of Balliol College.

[*To face p.* 112.

penitential psalms, with the Litanies for the living and the Placebo, Dirige, and Prayer for the dead. Every man on his election was to swear on the gospels to observe the statutes, and "maintain with heart and hand the rights, liberties, and possessions of the fellows, and the welfare of the house."

The men lived a simple life. Meals were taken in the hall, where a charcoal fire burned, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Near the door was a large basin of water, with hanging towels: a custom still observed in many mendicant orders to this present day. Lectures began at six in the morning or earlier, dinner was at ten o'clock, supper at five. In their own rooms the men had neither the luxury of fire or candle, for fuel and wax were beyond their purses. The rooms were as bare as a monk's cell: a table and stool or two, a truckle bed, a few well-thumbed books and papers, and perhaps a bow and arrow and a hornpipe; the floors were sanded, carpets[1] being a very modern luxury.

The first property to be acquired was a piece of land near Hart Hall, where Hertford College now stands; this being found too small for further developments, St Stephen's Hall was purchased. It was in St Mildred's parish, and stood in the centre, north of the present buildings. About the same time de Stapeldon founded a grammar school at Exeter as a feeder to the college. His untimely and lamentable death left the foundation incomplete; but the bishops of Exeter in turn, whom he had appointed visitors, proved true friends of the college. It was their continual benefactions, in all probability, that caused the foundation to be eventually called Exeter College—a name which was finally confirmed to it in a Papal Bull.

Between the years 1320 and 1470 the property of the college grew apace: ten halls were acquired, and in 1326

[1] Cardinal Newman, revisiting his old rooms at Trinity in '81, was sorry to find them carpeted: "We never needed these in our day," he remarked dryly.

the high altar of the chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St Peter, and St Thomas the Martyr, was consecrated by the founder, under permission of the Bishop of Lincoln. This chapel was turned into the library in 1624, another and more beautiful one having meanwhile been built and dedicated to St James. This, beautiful as it was, did not escape the destructive spirit of the Gothic revival; it was actually demolished in 1854 to make room for the present one, erected under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott. It is indeed lovely, and Ruskin said it might have fallen from the clouds, though in fact it is an imitation of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris; but it does not compensate for the loss of the old one. The older chapel, which was then the library, was burnt out in 1709, and most of the books perished with it; finally, it was pulled down seventy years later, and the present Gothic library was built seventy-five feet to the south, running along the north of the fellows' garden.

Of the pre-Reformation buildings, only a fragment remains: the tower of the old gateway on the north, called Palmer's tower after its builder, William Palmer, who was rector from 1432 to 1435. It stands at the further left-hand corner as one enters the main quadrangle from the Turl. Formerly this gateway led into what was Somnore's Lane, just within the city wall. This lane was closed by leave of James I., and the college buildings were extended along it; soon after, the adjacent city wall disappeared also.

The gateway tower in the Turl was built in 1605; the block of buildings to the north of it, forming the front of the quadrangle, in 1671; the hall is Jacobean, and was erected by Sir John Acland in 1618; it forms the south side of the same quadrangle, the chapel being opposite. The east side of the quadrangle is formed by what are known as Periam's Buildings, after John Periam of Exeter, a benefactor; the portion near the hall was built at the same time, the rest a hundred years later. This latter portion occupies the site of a small

quadrangle known as Hell Quad! The buildings in the Broad between the more recent tower and the old Clarendon Building were erected in 1833-4.

The curious house which appears in the Turl, standing north of the chapel and called Swiss Cottage, is not so old as it looks, being a reproduction of Prideaux Buildings when they were taken down in 1856.

The entrance to the fellows' garden is through a narrow passage at the south-east corner of the main quadrangle. This tiny enclosure is so beautiful that many a stranger has stood for a moment beneath the Dr Kennicott's fig tree that wreathes its branches over the entrance, held spell-bound by the first sight of it.

Exeter has the reputation of having been always a fighting college. Possibly it was its spirit of opposition that led it for a time to espouse the cause of Wyclif. That this opposition to orthodoxy was mainly académic may be surmised from the fact that when the fellows who had favoured the opinions of Wyclif were seriously brought to book, all but one, William Serche, recanted. Among them were Robert Rygge, the chancellor, and Benedict Brent, a proctor who afterwards became the rector of the college. On the other hand, two of the fellows were among the first in the University to condemn these heretical doctrines. It would seem that even William Serche eventually repented of his error, for he was presented with the living of West Tilbury by King Richard II.

The slender endowment of Exeter, due, as has been said, to the untimely end of the founder, kept it in the background until another great benefactor arose in the person of Sir William Petre, whose generosity to his college has earned him the title of second founder. He came up to Exeter like the loyal Devonian he was, in the year 1520 or thereabouts, and in the various vicissitudes of those troublous times, diplomatically kept his head when so many were losing theirs, by accommodating his opinions to those of the sovereign

who chanced to be in power; thus he served Henry and Edward, as well as Mary; and seemed quite as ready to carry out the measures of Elizabeth as he had been to acquiesce in the restoration of the Mass under her unfortunate sister. Under his directions, the statutes were revised and enforced; the rector was appointed for life, and the scholars were to be drawn from a larger area.

Catholicism died hard at Exeter. John Neale, the first rector under the new régime, was deprived for refusing to attend the newly-devised service in the chapel; several fellows fled the country, among whom were Richard Bristow, Ralph Sherwin, and John Cornelius. Dr Bristow was welcomed by the Catholic exile community at Douai, and later brought out the New Testament, with notes; Sherwin and Cornelius returned to England as priests, and afterwards crowned their labours by martyrdom, the former along with Edmund Campion at Tyburn in 1581, the latter at Dorchester, after having been admitted into the Society of Jesus while in prison in 1594.

Still Exeter clung to the old religion, and in 1570 William Wyot, the sub-rector, was imprisoned, first in the castle and then in Bocardo, for refusing to declare who among the men were Papists. Again, in the visitation of 1578-9, Strype in his *Annals* declares that out of eighty, "were found but four obedient subjects, all the rest were secret or open Roman affectionaries, and particularly one Savage of that house, a most earnest defender of the Pope's bull and excommunication of the Queen."

Borne down, however, by State influence and oppression, Catholicism gradually became extinct, and Elizabethan theology gained the ascendency. The college had an able exponent of the new religion in John Prideaux, who as rector (1612-1642) left an indelible mark upon it. He afterwards became bishop of Worcester, but lost his see when the Parliamentarians came into power. Exeter suffered much

during the war, and nearly all its plate went to the melting-pot in the king's cause.

The new visitors turned out the sub-rector, dean, bursar, fellows, and others, to the number of twenty-eight, and put in Samuel Conant as rector. He was an able man, and enthusiastic in carrying out the new discipline. He was ejected later for refusing to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity, and after his departure the college began steadily to degenerate. The Dean of Norwich in 1695 writes: "My sister mentioned Exeter College for your son. Whoever advised you there was no friend: that is worse than Christ Church, for in the latter there is something of ingenuity and genteel carriage in the genius of the place, but in the other I never knew anything, all the while I was in Oxford, but drinking and duncery."

The spirit of opposition and love of fighting which led Exeter, as we have surmised, to favour Wycliffism in the fourteenth century, brought it to take up Whig doctrine in the eighteenth, with almost all the University against it. During the hotly-contested elections of 1754, when the Tories stood twenty deep at the top of the Turl to prevent the Whigs reaching the polling-booths (which that year were erected at the north of the college), Exeter opened its Turl gate and thus out-flanked its political enemies. The vice-chancellor, a strong Jacobite, gravely censured "the infamous behaviour" of the college, which during that week royally entertained the voters, "an unlettered, hungry mob," as he describes them, and "a smoking, drinking, expectorating crowd." A war of pamphlets ensued, in which Exeter held its own.

A great Whig leader, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, describes how, when he was an undergraduate at Exeter, he was instrumental in putting down a barbarous custom called "tucking": a sort of initiation into college society, graphically described by Anthony à Wood as beginning at Merton. After supper, the freshmen were called to the fire and ordered to hold out their chins, while one of the senior men with his

thumb nail left long for that purpose, scraped off the skin from lip to chin, and afterwards made each drink off a glass of salt and water. That year there chanced to be several freshmen determined to save their chins, and so when the son of my lord of Pembroke called the writer to observe the custom, he struck him a box on the ear, and all the freshmen set on and cleared the hall and buttery. He also describes another barbarous custom put down by Dr Fell. It took place after disputations in hall, the side defeated in argument, it would appear, endeavouring at least to obtain a victory of another sort. "They forebore striking, but making a great noise with their feet, they hissed, and shoved with their shoulders, and the stronger in that disorderly manner drove the other out before them; and if the schools were above stairs, with all violence hurrying the contrary party down, the proctors were forced either to give way to their violence or suffer in the throng. . . ." This was called "coursing."

It is interesting to note that Exeter, which was the first to welcome the study of Greek under William Grocyn in 1491, was the first also to inaugurate athletic sports in 1850. Was it the Athenian spirit proclaiming itself after so many years? No one can fail to recognise a revival of mediæval art in its best form in the beautiful piece of tapestry that hangs on the chapel wall near the altar: the design, conjointly, of Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris, who were together alumni of the college in the fifties.

5. Oriel College

Adam de Brome, the founder of the House or Hall of Blessed Mary, which gradually developed into Oriel College, sprang of a Norfolk family. He entered the civil service of the king, or, as it was then called, the *curia regia*. Sundry emoluments fell to his lot, and in 1320 King Edward II. presented him to the rectory of the University Church. Fired by the noble example of de Merton, he conceived the

idea of founding a similar college without any restriction to county or province. In 1324, therefore, he obtained from his royal master letters patent authorising him to found a college of scholars in the University of Oxford. Two tenements were accordingly purchased, one called Tackley's Inn, on the south side of High Street, and another called Perilous Hall, on the north side of Horsemonger Street. The college was declared to be for the study of theology and *ars dialectica*, and a John de Laughton was appointed first rector at Tackley's Inn. The other inn or hall presumably afforded a revenue. Two years later, for some reason or other, de Brome surrendered the property into the king's hand. The king then refounded it in his own name, and made the first head, provost, not rector, for the revenues of the church were to be at the disposal of the college, which was to supply in return four chaplains for the celebration of divine service and the care of souls. The first statutes, framed on those of Merton, were issued at the same time as the royal charter, that is in 1326. The services of the church were to be regulated by the dean of the college, under the supervision of his superior, the provost; he held, therefore, a unique position and authority. The scholars were to attend the church in surplices on Sundays and holidays of obligation, and were to assist at Mass daily.

But de Brome's plans were to receive a severe check. A few months later Queen Isabella's party was supreme in the State. Henry de Burghersh, the Bishop of Lincoln, was a supporter of that faction, and he availed himself of its success to insist that he should be made the direct patron of the new foundation: and he proceeded forthwith to modify its statutes in accordance with his own ideas.

The bishop and not the king's chancellor was to confirm the election of a new provost; the dean was to be appointed by the provost instead of being elected by the scholars; some alterations were made in the course of studies; and a common seal was granted. This seal, still existing, represents the

Annunciation, with Adam de Brome kneeling below. On it is inscribed: *Sig. Comune Domus Scholarium Beate Marie Oxon.* Daily Mass was to be said in the Chapel of St Anne, for the souls of the parents of the bishop and his relatives, as well as for the king and the founder. The statutes were to be interpreted, or reformed as time might require, by the bishop. Later on, in 1331, the foundation was officially confirmed by Pope John XXII. in four bulls.

In 1327 the college acquired a hall, then called *La Oriole*, which stood on the site of the present quadrangle; from which name, as is evident, de Brome's foundation derives its present designation. The origin of the name is lost in obscurity; some say that it comes from *aureolum*, a golden or beautiful chamber, or from some architectural feature known by that name; others, from *oratoriolum*, an oratory.

In 1328 King Edward III., "that he might gratify his scholars of Oriel Hall the use of wholesome air in time of pestilential sickness," granted them St Bartholomew's Hospital, with its "houses, lands, meadows, woods, and other rents and titles . . . and their successors for ever." It proved an unending source of trouble and litigation.

For a long time the history of the college seems to be made up of internal strife (due, it may be, to the fact that its scholars came from all parts of England), and to the acquiring of property with the disputes attendant thereon. Not until the beginning of the sixteenth century was the whole of the present property in undisputed possession; then, there was a quadrangle with chapel, hall, and library. License to celebrate Mass in the college was first given in 1373; but not until some time after was a proper chapel built; it stood on the south side of the quadrangle opposite to the present gate of Corpus.

Of the ancient buildings practically nothing remains except a portion of the wall facing Grove Street. The front quadrangle was built at the same time as those of University and

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Oriel College Hall and Chapel, before restoration.

[*To face p.* 190.

Wadham, that is, from 1620; the hall and chapel form the eastern side of the quadrangle, the chapel being on the south; they are divided by an open portico with steps, and over it are statues of the Madonna and the kings, Edward II. and Charles I. The legend *Regnante Carolo* gives the date. An archway at the northern corner leads into the garden quadrangle; here on its northern side is the library, built in 1788.

The intimate relation that existed between the college and St Mary's led the king as patron to make a curious petition to the Holy See. The various meetings held in the church for disputations were frequently of such a turbulent nature that blood was not infrequently spilt. On such occasions, according to Canon law, the church was ceremonially defiled, and had to be shut up until the sacrilege had been atoned for, and the church reconciled and opened again by the bishop. This took time, as the Bishop of Lincoln had a large diocese, and was not always easily accessible. The petition begged that he might be authorised to give a standing permission to the abbots of Oseney and Rewley to act for him in such emergencies. The response was characteristic of Rome: in a special Bull dated 23rd June, 1331, it forbade the holding of such meetings under pain of excommunication.

Another sidelight is thrown upon the history of those times by a dispute which arose between the college and the University itself. Thomas Cobham, the Bishop of Worcester, bequeathed his library to Oriel; but inasmuch as his estate was insufficient to cover his debts and funeral expenses, the executors pawned his books. Adam de Brome redeemed the books and placed them in a library he had erected for that purpose. The University, not acquiescing in this proceeding, sent a body of students, five years after de Brome's death, who, making forcible entrance into the library, carried off the spoil. Endless litigation followed; but by this time the University had established the books in the upper room of

the old Congregation House and would not part with them: they formed the nucleus of the University library.

John Wyclif's spirit of opposition to authority tended to foster the like spirit already dominant in the college. In 1411, when Archbishop Arundel made his visitation to suppress the heresy, he found the doors of St Mary's shut against him by the proctors, both Oriel Fellows. It is to be noted that these men and others of the same persuasion were objectionable in other respects also. They were charged with brawling in the streets, wounding, robbing, and even slaying; with frequenting taverns, staying out at night, and so on. The archbishop's commissioners sat in the chapel and expelled several of them.

When Elizabeth sent her commissioners to the University, the provost (according to Wood), declined to sign, and was deprived; but the rest of the college submitted. Sir Walter Ralegh, it is of interest to note, entered the college as commoner two years later. Oriel gave to the Catholic Church in England several martyrs: B. Edward Powell, one of the four theologians chosen by Queen Katharine to defend the validity of her marriage (m. 1540); V. Stephen Rousham (m. 1586); and V. John Goodman, confessor, who died in Newgate prison in 1645.

The universal stagnation, to use no stronger word, which prevailed in Oxford in the eighteenth century, showed itself at Oriel as elsewhere. The college, indeed, produced the famous Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, and author of the *Analogy of Religion;* but he complained bitterly of the time misspent in attending frivolous lectures and unintelligible disputations, and thought of leaving Oxford for Cambridge. His famous work just mentioned has won for him a high place amongst the great thinkers of our race. Its calm and cogent reasoning effectually stemmed the rising tide of unbelief which, at the time of the Deist controversy, seemed about to carry all before it.

In the academic revival which began with the nineteenth

century, Oriel took the lead. Its open fellowships attracted a succession of eminent tutors and masters; these in turn attracted serious students, and eventually a fellowship here was regarded as the highest distinction the University had to offer. Thus it came about that Newman, whose undergraduate days had been spent at Trinity, sought and won a fellowship at Oriel.

The author of "Oriel College" in the *College Histories Series* sums up Newman's Oriel days so well, that we cannot forbear quoting him: "Though he passed his undergraduate days elsewhere, Newman came to Oriel on the wings of his first academic success; at Oriel he pieced together his early creed; at Oriel he acquired and used, long before he knew, his vast personal power over the minds of men; from the pulpit of St Mary's, Oriel's own church, he revolutionised English religious thought; to Oriel he returned from his Italian tour with its weird experiences, its delirious forebodings; at Oriel he composed his Tracts for the Times; Oriel held him until every mooring was loosened and he set sail for strange seas. No man more earnestly than Newman himself repudiated his parentage of the Tractarian Movement. Yet it is impossible not to feel that, however the movement might have fared without Newman, it is to him that it owes its chief power and charm for the observer who is not a partisan. If any one ghost more than another haunts the precincts of St Mary's College, it must be the ghost of Newman; and while that presence is there, the popular feeling about Oriel will never be wholly changed."

Newman's rooms at Oriel were on the first floor of the southern buildings of the front quadrangle, reached from the staircase farthest east, next to the chapel, which the rooms adjoined. There was a lumber-room, lit by the window over the chapel door, which he used as an oratory, whence his voice was often overheard in prayer. The rooms were furnished with extreme simplicity. Hurrell Froude's rooms were directly over his, Keble's and Pusey's between his and the college-entrance.

To the north of Oriel, in Oriel Street, now incorporated with the college, stands St Mary's Hall. It seems to have been founded for the junior members of the college, before they became eligible, according to the first statutes, to enter the college itself. The principal of the hall was always a fellow of Oriel, and there was always an intimate connection between them. The buildings date from the seventeenth century and onwards, except a portion of the wall on the south side of the quadrangle, which is of the fifteenth. The young Thomas More was an undergraduate of St Mary's Hall.

Here William (afterwards Cardinal) Allen ruled as principal in Queen Mary's time. To this great Englishman is due, humanly speaking, the preservation of the Catholic religion in this country. It was he whose apostolic labours raised up in Lancashire that gallant band of country gentlemen whose loyalty to the Church no government could seduce. It was he who gave a new home at Douai to the learning and piety which Elizabeth drove from Oxford, and there established the college whose sons kept the faith alive in England through three centuries of persecution.

An addition to the college, in the Renaissance style, has recently been erected facing the High. This was made possible by the generous benefactions of Cecil Rhodes the Imperialist, a former member of the college. His portrait now hangs with Newman's in the Fellows' common-room.

6. Queen's College

The movement for founding colleges went steadily on. But sixteen years after the establishment of Oriel, Queen's College came into being. Its founder, Master Robert de Eglesfield, was chaplain to Philippa, Queen of Edward III., the heroine of Neville's Cross and saviour of the citizens of Calais. The chaplain was a man of parts and a favourite at court, consequently emoluments were heaped upon him which enabled him to set on foot his great design. He purchased a

site, spent his best energies in drawing up the statutes, and then commended his work to his royal mistress: hence the happy title of the college, dedicated to Queen Philippa and all the future queen-consorts of England. Nor did it prove a barren dedication, for not only did Queen Philippa procure for him the advowson of Bletchingdon and the wardenship of God's House in Southampton, but other queens have also been great benefactors of the college, notably: Anne, queen of Richard II.; Anne, queen of James I.; Henrietta Maria, consort of Charles I.; Caroline, of George II.; Charlotte, of George III.; and Queen Adelaide.

Robert de Eglesfield, of gentle blood, was born in Cumberland, and his object in founding a college was to provide for the ecclesiastical education of the poor deserving boys of his own native north-country district, by "the cultivation of theology to the glory of God, the advance of the Church, and the salvation of souls."

The king, in granting the college permission to build a chapel, expresses his intention that the fellows and scholars shall pray for the good estate of himself, his queen, and their children, as well as for his heirs and benefactors, and the souls of his predecessors. Pope Urban, confirming the faculty granted by Clement VI., dedicates the chapel to "the honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and All Saints." This chapel occupied the south side of the old quadrangle; but, alas! none of the ancient buildings remain. Queen's, having been entirely rebuilt from the time of Charles II. onwards, presents little of interest to us, as regards its structure. No college suffered so much from the spirit of destruction then abroad; the whole arrangement of its parts was altered, and the entrance changed from Queen's Lane to the High.

The front quadrangle, completed in 1730, is built in the finest style of classic architecture, and was designed by a pupil of Wren; the chapel, a little earlier, by Wren himself; in it was replaced some sixteenth-century glass by the younger Van

Linge. The hall was built at the same time as the chapel. The back quadrangle is older, having been completed by the building of the library in 1696. The library is a richly carved and decorated room, and ranks with All Souls and Christ Church as one of the best of Oxford college libraries. The front of Queen's, different from any other building in the High, gives this remarkable street, by contrast, its finishing touch of beauty. The statue under the canopy represents Queen Caroline of Anspach.

The original statutes of Queen's, signed and sealed in 1341, were highly ecclesiastical and symbolic in form. There was to be a provost representing Our Lord, twelve fellows to represent the Apostles, and seventy-two poor boys in commemoration of the chosen disciples. At table, the provost was to sit in the midst of the fellows, according to the tradition of Our Lord at the Last Supper, and all were to wear crimson robes to remind them of His Precious Blood. The Bible was to be read during the meal by one of the chaplains, of whom there were to be several; the custom was observed until the beginning of the last century, by the scholar of the week reading one verse from the Greek Testament, according to the direction of the fellow presiding at the high table. Before dinner, to which meal all are still summoned by the blast of a clarion, the "poor boys" were to be "opposed" or questioned as to their studies by one of the fellows; which custom, needless to say, altered circumstances have made obsolete. But another quaint custom, perpetuating the name of the founder, still obtains. At dinner on January 1st, the bursar presents each with a needle and silk thread (*aiguille et fil*) of the colour of his degree, saying, "Take this and be thrifty," that is, Take this, and may you be prosperous. To the same punning end, an eagle used to be kept in a cage at the provost's lodgings. But in the very minute directions of the statutes, other animals and birds of the chase were distinctly forbidden, as being incompatible with the poverty of boys who

lived on alms; as also bows and arrows, and musical instruments. Another old custom still surviving, is the bringing in of a boar's head at dinner on Christmas Day, with the carol:

> "The boar's head in hand bear I,
> Bedecked with bays and rosemary.
> And I pray you, masters, merry be."

It is said that an early Queen's scholar was attacked by a wild boar on Shotover Hill, and he, with great presence of mind, thrust his Aristotle down its throat, exclaiming, "*Græcum est*," and so choked the brute! Hence the origin of the ceremony.

Provision was made by the founder for the feeding of twelve poor persons every day, beside the distribution of soup and broken victuals at the college gate.

In early days, the students were required to wear a special dress called the "Tabard": a custom which still lingers in the name "Taberdar," applied to the eight senior scholars.

Thrice during the year, the revenues of the college were to be apportioned to the fellows, the statutes read, and a solemn Mass of the Holy Trinity was to be celebrated for the king, Queen Philippa, the benefactors mentioned in the statutes, and for all the faithful living and dead. Afterwards, a "chapter" was held to correct faults against college discipline; the accused, if any, were allowed to answer for themselves "privately, peacefully, and honestly, but not scandalously or contentiously."

The wassail, or loving-cup of the founder—an ox-horn containing two quarts, set on eagles' claws and surmounted by an eagle in silver gilt—is still in the possession of the college.

The college did not realise the expectations of the founder as to its numbers, and so there were rooms to spare; hence it was the first to admit what are called gentlemen-commoners; that is, gentlemen of means and position who wish to be brought into touch with university life without following the

ordinary curriculum. It alone of all the colleges still offers this privilege.

The royal commission of 1545 expelled the provost and one of the fellows for refusing to subscribe to the king's new religion; the same thing was repeated on the accession of Elizabeth; then the college seems to have settled down to a period of mediocrity.

In the year 1594, John Bost, another Queen's man, was executed at Durham for the Catholic faith, after suffering frightful tortures on the rack, both at York and in the Tower of London. He is described in the Jesuit *Records* as a secular priest. A former chamber-fellow or "chum," pretending to be a Catholic also, ensnared him to his death. Another martyr for the same cause was Richard Thirlkeld, student, and probably scholar of Queen's, in 1564. He suffered martyrdom at York in 1583.

Closely connected with Queen's, and situated on the other side of Queen's Lane, is St Edmund Hall. It may, therefore, be mentioned here. Though there is no evidence to show that, as is sometimes asserted, Edmund Rich was himself the founder of the existing society, yet this hall serves to perpetuate the name of the saintly Archbishop of Canterbury whose early life was so closely linked with the life of the University. St Edmund was born at Abingdon, probably about the year 1170, and lived there until his pious mother sent him to begin his studies at Oxford. It is in the fields between his native town and the University city that tradition places the scene of his meeting with the Child Jesus Who marvelled that the little Edmund did not at once recognise Him. The Norman church of St Mary in Oxford witnessed his vow of perpetual virginity, a vow he sealed by placing upon the finger of Our Lady's statue a ring as a sign of his betrothal to the Queen of Heaven. His remarkable talents soon made him a leader in the schools, and he exerted a powerful influence as a lecturer in philosophy and mathematics:

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The curve of High Street from Queen's College, showing the Spire of St Mary-the-Virgin.

[*To face p.* 128.

there appears, however, to be no solid ground for the suggestion that Oxford owes to him the introduction of Aristotle's *Elenchus*. His Oxford life was interrupted by a course of study in Paris, and on his return thence he devoted himself to theology—as some writers say, in obedience to his mother's admonitions. That great love of poverty and of the poor which marked his life throughout, found abundant scope for its exercise in the mean streets of mediæval Oxford; living and working in a small house, probably on the site now covered by the chapel of Brasenose College, and devoting many hours to prayer in the adjoining church of St Mary, he cared little for his own needs and lavished his alms upon the poor of the city. The poor scholars were the especial objects of his charity, and we are told he would refuse to accept the lecture fees they could so ill afford. About the year 1222 he gave up this life of peaceful labour for others, and undertook the work of public preaching. Here, too, he soon became a marked man, and his only recorded visit to Oxford after he had resigned his chair was in fulfilment of his commission to preach the crusade in 1227. His fame had reached the ears of Pope Gregory IX., and in 1234 he was summoned to fill the see of Canterbury. The depth of his knowledge of the sacred sciences had won him a high reputation, while his earnest piety and essential loveableness endeared him to all in his own day, and have won him the affectionate admiration of subsequent historians, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

The hall, by whomsoever founded, came into the hands of the Canons of Oseney in the year 1269, and remained in the possession of those patrons of learning until the suppression of the monasteries in the reign of King Henry. The king sold it by letters patent in 1546, and it passed into several hands; finally it was purchased by the Provost of Queen's in 1557. The existing buildings are mostly eighteenth-century.

The hall has pluckily withstood all attempts to absorb it into the college, and is the only ancient hall that has succeeded

in maintaining a separate existence. But by an Act of Convocation, Queen's has obtained a right to appoint its principal.

The present chapel, at the east end of the quadrangle, was completed in 1682, and dedicated by the Bishop, Dr Fell, to the reputed founder of the hall.

7. New College

Twenty years after the death of Robert de Eglesfield (he died in 1352 and was accorded magnificent funeral honours), another ecclesiastic, with a greater name and more liberal means at his command, took up his collegiate ideas and developed them on a much grander scale. Thus arose "St Mary's College of Winchester in Oxford," now called New College.

William de Wykeham, the founder of New College, was the greatest statesman-ecclesiastic of his day; but, strangely enough, first came under the notice of his royal patron, Edward III., as an architect. Born in 1324, he was educated at the Grammar School at Wickham in Hampshire, his native place, and learnt something of law in a notary's office. Having entered the king's service, he was made supervisor of the works of Windsor Castle, which at the time was partly pulled down, as it is supposed, by his advice, and rebuilt according to his design. He succeeded so well that he was given other work to do of a like nature, and finally became chief warden and surveyor of many other castles, manors, and parks. Hence Wyclif's sneer that he was raised to high ecclesiastical dignity for "being wise of building castles and other worldly doing." Indeed, he grew so much in favour of the king that, to quote Froissart, "everything was done by him, and nothing was done without him." Benefices were heaped upon him, as well as important secular offices; as bishop-elect of the great diocese of Winchester, he reached the highest position the State could give him, the Chancellorship of England.

Meanwhile, however, being a man of princely generosity as well as a man of affairs, he found time and opportunity to lay the foundations of the two great institutions with which his name will ever be associated: Winchester School, and the New College of St Mary in Oxford. The one was to be the complement of the other. Hitherto, mere boys had been sent to Oxford, falling an easy prey to the evils of the day; Winchester School, which was the first, and gave the pattern to all our public schools, was to act as a nursery.

As early as 1369, Wykeham began buying property in Oxford for the carrying out of his project, and lastly, he purchased from the city, after much trouble, a large waste piece of land in the angle formed by the north and east city walls, and a public lane leading from Smith Gate to the High, described as "full of filth, dirt, and stinking carcases, brought from several places in the town, . . . also there was a concourse of malefactors, murderers, whores, and thieves, to the great damage of the town;" and that "scholars and others passing that way, were there often wounded, killed, and lost!"

On this unpromising spot, Wykeham, with his masterly mind, began to build his quadrangle, chapel, and hall on a plan so perfectly adapted to academic life, that every college erected since has taken it as a model, and even the colleges already founded readjusted their buildings to the same ideal. Merton, already a hundred years old, paused in the building of its new chapel, as we have seen, and never added the intended nave; and then it marshalled its existing buildings into quadrangles. The other colleges also followed its lead. So that New College, though seventh in respect to its foundation, is oldest as regards its fabric: the front quadrangle with its chapel and hall, the cloisters and the bell tower, are practically the same as the founder left them. However, a third storey was added to the front quadrangle, and the windows, unfortunately, were modernised; in the magnificent

chapel, the statues of the reredos, taken down and smashed at the Reformation, were replaced by others in 1894. The statues of Our Blessed Lady, the founder, and the Angel St Gabriel, which stand in niches on the gate tower and over the entrance of the hall, have by some happy chance escaped the iconoclast's hammer. Also the noble glass in the ante-chapel is fourteenth century, except the great west window, which is from a design of Sir Joshua Reynolds and dates from 1782; the glass in the chapel, on the south side, is Flemish, dating from 1740. The back quadrangle was finished in 1684, and the new buildings in Holywell Street were erected in 1872-6. The garden was originally used for kitchen produce, but now "for pleasure and walking"; the artificial mound in the centre, unique in Oxford, was made in 1529-30.

As seemed inevitable with great statesmen in those rough and stormy days, Wykeham in 1371, through no fault of his own, fell into disgrace, and the great seal of England, for the first time in its history, passed into lay hands. The bishop, therefore, being no longer able to maintain his men, "brake up his household"; and the Oxford scholars temporarily lodged in Hart Hall, now Hertford College, "departed in great sorrow and discomfort, weeping and with simple cheer."

But his disgrace was of short duration; in 1379, the charters for the foundation were granted, and eight years later the community, with cross erect, and singing a solemn litany, marched triumphantly into the splendid new buildings.

William de Wykeham was a staunch defender of the prerogatives of the Holy See, and his object in founding New College was to raise up a thoroughly orthodox body of secular clergy who should defend the Church against the inroads of Lollardy and other heresies. Naturally, he had many enemies, for under the protection of so powerful a man as John of Gaunt, heresy was rampant. He was bitterly

accused of being a pluralist: a pluralist he was, but it is likely that the Black Death of 1348 had so thinned the ranks of the clergy that there were no priests to hold benefices. He certainly put their revenues to very good uses, being a generously charitable man; and actually employed his pages to search out deserving cases among the poor.

The statutes of New College were framed on an elaborate scale, for the bishop intended that his foundation should bear comparison with the large abbeys. The warden was to live in a house of his own like an abbot, and the sub-warden was to preside over the hall like a prior. There were to be ten chaplains, three clerks, seventy scholars, and sixteen choristers, besides deans, bursars, and other fellows. The scholars were to assist at Mass every day, and on Sundays and holidays the whole college was to attend, not only Mass, but also matins, as well as first and second vespers; and were to march in procession around the cloisters in their surplices and hoods.

Four times a year, the whole college was to attend the solemn exequies of the dead, offered for the souls of benefactors; and every day the scholars were required to say five *Paters* and fifty *Aves*, that is, a rosary, for the founder's soul, besides a short prayer on rising and on going to bed. The rest of the statutes, and the customs observed in the college, were very much the same as those in force at Merton.

The founder lost no time in securing his rights and privileges by means of papal bulls, no less than thirteen of which are still preserved in the muniment tower. A bull of Gregory XI. grants the college leave to buy certain priories from the houses to which they belonged. It is dated 1371. Another of Pope Urban VI., in 1383, grants the Bishop of Winchester license to consecrate the chapel and its altars. One of Boniface IX. grants an indulgence of 100 days to all who should visit the chapel on certain feast-days, or

contribute to its fabric. Another, of the same Pope, grants the right of burial within the college walls.

Until the beginning of the last century, the scholars were awakened in the morning, after the monastic manner, by the porter hammering on the stairs with a wooden mallet, "the wakening mallet"; the fellows are still summoned to the quarterly meetings in the same fashion.

Another quaint custom was observed until about the same time. Dinner was announced by two choir boys singing at the top of their voices: *Tempus est vocandi amanger, O Signeurs.* Beginning from the college gate, they were expected to spin out the words until they reached the kitchen.

First among the famous men the college produced was Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of All Souls College. It will be more convenient to speak of him later.

New College was probably the first to be influenced (in a good sense) by the Renaissance. Thomas Chandler, warden from 1454-75, is said to have written better Latin prose than had been known in England since the twelfth century. As chancellor later, he presided over the burning of Bishop Pecock's works at Corpus Christi College. Bishop Pecock, in his zealous defence of Catholic doctrine against Lollardy, had pushed his arguments into the opposite extreme of heresy. New College disputes with Exeter the honour of being the first to teach Greek in the University, and claims the Italian, Vitelli, as the first professor. William Grocyn was fellow of the college in 1467; but whether he taught here before his travels in Italy, whence he returned to profess Greek at Exeter, is a question that can never be definitely settled.

The founder left special provision for the entertaining of honourable strangers, of whom at New College there have been not a few. It is interesting to note that in 1418, the "ambassadors of our Lord the Pope" were entertained with "spiced bread and beer"!

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

New College: the Bell-Tower, Chapel and Hall, and Bastion of the old City Wall. From the north.

[*To face p.* 135.

The annals of the college during the Reformation period are not altogether consoling. Henry VIII. must have found in the warden of the time, John London, a man after his own heart. He was a man who, to quote Wood, "spared neither to abuse his founder, college, university, and his conscience, to gain favour from great persons, and wealth to his purse."

Before the king's change of religion, London persecuted the Lutherans with savage ferocity, and was once found in the nave of Christ Church, during vespers, "puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey," and calling upon the dean to consult with him about the recapture of a Lutheran named Garret, who had escaped from his clutches. Another Lutheran, Peter Quinby, he actually starved to death in the "steeple" of the college. Afterwards, he was quite as furious in the persecution of Catholics, and was foremost among those who collected or fabricated evidence against the monasteries. It was men such as this who furnished Henry VIII. with his most serviceable tools in the work of imposing the new religion on the country.

It was under him that the oft-quoted report was sent to Thomas Cromwell: "Wee have set Dunce (John Duns Scotus) in Bocardo, and have utterly banished him from Oxford for ever, with all his blynd glosses, and is now made a common servant to every man (his works being put to vile uses). And the second time wee came to New College, after wee had declared your injunctions, wee found all the great Quadrant Court full of the leaves of Dunce, the wind blowing them into every quarter; and then wee found one Master Greenefeld, a Gentleman of Buckinghamshire, gathering up part of the said book-leaves (as he said) therewith to make Sewells or Blanchers to keep the Deere within the wood, and thereby to have the better crye with his hounds." "So it was," writes Anthony à Wood, "that what the wisdom of

former times did advance and cry up, the peevish humour of these doth decry."

London was succeeded by Henry Cole, a man of the same stamp, though not so brutal. Under Henry, he was all for the king's religion; under Edward, he preached Protestantism at Carfax; under Queen Mary, he preached Cranmer's execution sermon. Elizabeth gave him no chance of conforming to her opinions, but fined him, deprived him, and then sent him to Fleet Prison, where, it is said, he died.

Among the many fellows who fled from the college, or were expelled by Elizabeth's commissioners, may be mentioned the following:—John Ingram; John Body (martyred 1583); Thomas Harding and Nicholas Sanders, who became professors of theology at Louvain; Thomas Stapleton, accounted the most learned Catholic of his day; John Munden or Mundyn, butchered at Tyburn for the faith in 1582. Two more martyrs for the old faith were John Slade (martyred 1583) and James Fenn (martyred 1584); the latter was a chorister at New College, but afterwards became fellow of Corpus. In the next generation, John Pits became a writer and professor of Greek at Douai.

Thomas Stevens, the first Englishman to set foot in India, is said to have been educated at Winchester School and New College. He became a Jesuit, and was sent to join his Portuguese brethren in Malabar in 1579. Here he spent forty years, chiefly at Salsette, a peninsula near Goa, where he was rector of the college, and where he once narrowly escaped martyrdom. An indefatigable missionary, he composed a long poem in the Konkani language, called the Purana, embodying the chief events of the Gospel, which he taught the native Christians to learn by heart. It is regarded as one of the classics of that tongue: only recently a new edition was published at Bombay. His letters to his father, a London merchant, are said to have played a great part in leading British trade to the East Indies.

Photo. : Wheeler, Oxford.]

St Gabriel Archangel—Sculpture of the Fourteenth Century.
New College.

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Bishop William de Wykeham, Founder of New College.
Fourteenth-century Sculpture.

[*Between pp.* 136 *and* 137.

New College suffered much from the great rebellion. The tower and cloisters were turned into a magazine, most of its plate went to the melting-pot, train-bands drilled in the quadrangle, and many of the scholars "could never be brought to their books again."

Nowhere did the Parliamentarian visitors meet with so strenuous a resistance as here. The members found it hard to have to submit to the interrogations of men like Prynne, "the scurrilous barrister and pamphleteer who had stood on the pillory; John Wilkinson, made Principal of Magdalen Hall, an illiterate, testy old creature, one that for forty years together had been the sport of boys, a person of more beard than learning; Henry Wilkinson, known as Long Harry, who bore in his face the exact cut of a precisian, and was always having his windows broken by undergraduates." Sixty members and seven servants were expelled, not more than fifteen submitting. One of these, Thomas Lydiat, one of the most learned men of his time, has been immortalised in Johnson's lines:

> "Then mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
> Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail;
> . . . . . .
> If dreams yet flatter, once again attend:
> Hear Lydiat's life, and Galileo's end."

New College possesses the unique privilege of "postulating" for its M.A. degree instead of "supplicating." In the days when taking a degree was a matter of form, and a "grace" had to be asked of the University, the founder determined that his scholars should take their degree by merit, tested by severe examinations within the college, and that no dispensations or "graces" should be applied for. When Laud instituted real University examinations for the ancient forms, Wykehamists held themselves still exempt. In the year 1834 the college voluntarily renounced its privilege, except the name.

The founder's pastoral staff, exquisitely wrought and

covered with jewels, is to be seen in a recess on the north of the chapel.

In the warden's library are several other relics, and among them, what is known as the founder's Jewel. It is in reality the "morse" of his cope and represents the Annunciation, in honour of which the chapel was dedicated.

8. Lincoln College

Appalled by the inroads of Wycliffism, Richard Flemyng, Bishop of Lincoln, all the more zealous, perhaps, because he had been as a youth almost caught in their snare, set about providing an antidote.

An Oxford man himself, and proctor in 1407, his mind naturally turned to his *alma mater*, and he finally determined to found a "little college" (*collegiolum*), wherein a few picked men, free from all other employments, might pursue their theological studies, so as the more effectually to combat the growing heresy. To use the founder's own words, couched in the vigorous language of the time, it was to be "a little college of theologians to defend the mysteries of the sacred page against these ignorant laics, who profaned with swinish snouts its most holy pearls."

In the year 1427, the bishop obtained a charter empowering him to apply the revenues of the three churches of All Saints, St Michael, and St Mildred, to this end. St Mildred's Church was used for some time as the chapel of the college, and then, being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down; an oratory was built in its place.

The college began in a very small way indeed, with custos or rector, and seven scholars, two chaplains being engaged to serve the churches; a Bible-clerk, as he was called, selected from among the choristers of Lincoln Cathedral, was also appointed to read scripture at table and look after the servers. It took the name of "The Lincoln College of Blessed Mary and All Saints, in the University of Oxford."

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Our Lady: the central figure of three placed by the founder. New College.

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Having appointed the first rector, the founder secured part of the present site and began to build. He completed the tower over the gate, in which were the rector's lodgings, and the muniment room above, and had begun erecting the buildings to the south of it, when he suddenly died in 1431.

Founded on such slender means (for the revenues of the churches were almost exhausted by the stipends of the chaplains), the college had more than once to struggle for bare existence. But second founders, bishops, and rectors came to its assistance, and saved it from extinction.

Between the years 1435-7, John Forest, Dean of Wells and Canon of Lincoln, built the north and east of the old quadrangle, comprising the chapel, the library, the hall with its kitchen, and rooms on upper and lower stories.

In 1465, the executors of Bishop Beckington of Bath and Wells built a house for the rector at the east end of the hall. About the same time Robert Flemyng, a nephew of the founder, supplied books and MSS. for the library. The college also purchased land about Littlemore, Iffley, and Cowley, including an interesting and picturesque building lately burnt down, Iffley Mill. The rebus of Beckington, a beacon and a tun, may still be seen on a buttress on the east front of the rector's lodgings.

What is known as the second foundation began in the year 1472 with Bishop Rotherham's visitation. The story is that the rector, preaching the sermon, took as his text the words: "Behold and visit this vine, and make perfect what thy right hand hath planted" (Psalm lxxix. 15). Improving the occasion, he exhorted his lordship to complete the building of the college, still suffering from want of funds. The bishop rose in his place, and promised there and then to do what was asked of him. Whether the vine, the successor of which still flourishes on the north side of the present chapel quadrangle and yields its grapes in due season, inspired the text,

or whether the successful issue of the sermon suggested the planting of the vine, may safely be left to conjecture.

The bishop was as good as his word: he caused a complete inventory of the college to be made, and then bestowed several advowsons upon it. Moreover, he wrote or rewrote the statutes which remained in force until the commission of 1854. Twenty years later, he added the south side to the quadrangle, thus completing it; and the buildings remained *in statu quo* till the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The new quadrangle was begun in 1609 by Sir Thomas Rotheram, who built the block facing the Turl; the present chapel forming its south side was built by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1629, together with the commoners' rooms that complete the quadrangle on the east.

Among the other private benefactors may be mentioned William Dagville, who in his will directs that his body shall be buried before the altar "in Oure Lady Chapell of All Saints Church," and that certain properties, including an inn known ever since as the "Mitre," shall come into the possession of the rector and fellows of Lincoln, "to keep every yere my mynde": in other words, a requiem Mass is to be said for him annually on the anniversary of his death.

It was the rector of Lincoln who presided over the disputations held in the divinity schools in Queen Mary's reign, before which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer in turn were summoned in order to defend, if they could, their novel doctrine about the Holy Eucharist. The commission, consisting of several heads of houses and several divines from Cambridge, sat for three days; but though the reformers were thoroughly worsted in argument, they adhered tenaciously to their opinions. The disputations were repeated, as has been mentioned, in the chancel of St Mary's, so anxious were the commissioners to convince the unfortunate men of their error; but without any good effect. They proved obstinate and contumacious, and so, to use the language of

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.] Lincoln College.

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a contemporary, "they spilled their silly souls, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever."

The disastrous effect of the persecution of the two preceding reigns upon the University has already been mentioned; it was shown at Lincoln in an order of the visitor, giving permission for the time being to elect to vacant fellowships undergraduates who were mere boys, on account of the dearth of more suitable men.

An unknown contemporary writer describes how, in Edward's reign, the townsmen bought and pulled down scholars' houses and schools, particularly in what was then called School Street, and made gardens on their sites; and how, under Queen Mary, Dr Reynolds endeavoured to restore the academic spirit by repairing many dilapidated schools, and arranging disputations in logic and philosophy in the divinity schools. Lincoln is mentioned as having supplied two clever disputants, Antony Atkyns and Christopher Hargreaves, both fellows.

A pathetic memorial of Queen Mary's death, together with a list of rector and fellows, as if in anticipation of the coming storm, was entered in the college register, and runs thus: "In the month of November, A.D. 1558, died the Lady of most sacred memory, Mary Queen of England, and Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury. These at the time were Rector and Fellows of Lincoln Coll. Oxon.

Mr Henry Henshaw, S.T.B., Coll. Rector.
Mr Ri. Bernard, Sub-rector," etc., etc.

On the accession of Elizabeth, Henry Henshaw with several of the fellows resigned rather than submit, and was succeeded by Francis Babington, fellow of All Souls, and former master of Balliol. He was one of many in those perilous times who hid his light under a bushel, for he was a Catholic at heart, and naturally did nothing to suppress the faith in the college. Being suspect, he was deprived of his

benefices, and in 1565 resigned his rectorship for the same cause. He it was, as before mentioned, who as vice-chancellor preached at the funeral of Amy Robsart, and recommended "this virtuous lady, so pitifully murdered," to the "memories" of his audience. After which he seems to have lived abroad.

John Bridgewater of Brasenose, a man of the same stamp, was put in his place. Under his influence the Catholic spirit grew in the college; but a strange accident brought him under suspicion. On the feast of St Hugh (Nov. 17), the college kept its gaudy, and some students, in their hilarity of soul, went over to All Saints Church and rang the bells. The feast of St Hugh was also the anniversary of Queen Mary's death; the mayor, suspecting that the bells were being rung for a dirge, went to the church to inquire the reason, and the students in a panic shut the doors upon him. At length, however, the ringers opened them and explained that they were ringing in honour of Elizabeth's accession. The mayor accepted the explanation, and immediately caused the bells of Carfax to be rung for the same event, a custom which has prevailed ever since! The explanation was taken indeed, but suspicion grew until the rector was bound to resign his office and also several benefices he held. He left Oxford, taking with him several of his pupils, and proceeded to Rheims, where, under his Latinized name of Aquapontanus, he wrote various treatises. William Filby (martyred 1582) and William Hart (martyred 1583), priests and martyrs, were alumni of Lincoln College.

Among the many Lincoln men who became exiles for conscience' sake may be mentioned William Gifford, who, being already suspect, was refused his degree: he afterwards became Archbishop of Rheims. John Gibbons, a scholar, who was appointed a canon of Bonn by Pope Gregory, afterwards entered the Society of Jesus, and was made rector of the college at Treves. He was much

esteemed for his piety and learning, being the chief compiler of the well-known *Concertatio Eccl. Cath. in Anglia*, re-edited with considerable additions in 1584, and again in 1598, by John Bridgewater, already mentioned, who by this time had himself entered the same Order.

Lincoln did not escape the years of stagnation that followed these stormy times; but in the year 1620 it received a future poet-laureate in William Davenant, who had Shakespeare for godfather; we may dismiss as a malicious falsehood the rumour that he stood in a meaner relationship to our immortal bard. He received the distinction of being buried in Westminster Abbey. He was one of the many converts to the Catholic Church in the reign of Charles I.

The history of Lincoln during the chancellorship of Laud differed little from that of the rest of the University; it was a series of complaints and punishments meted out for drunkenness, brawls, and other outrageous conduct. When Gilbert Wats, a fellow of the college, "an excellent wit, and a master of so smooth a pen, whether in Latin or English, that no man of his time exceeded him," had nevertheless to be rebuked for coming into the house of a gentleman late at night, "much distempered with drink, railing on him and his wife," though that very morning he had "administered the communion" to them,—what could be expected of lesser lights?

Another fellow, ordered for unbecoming conduct to leave the high table and sit elsewhere, "in derision whoop'd at the rector so loud that all the hall rang of him." Two other fellows fighting, the face of one of them appeared so "sore and beaten" that his opponent had to "pay the charge of the surgeon for healing it." A scholar who struck another over the head with a bed-staff, breaking it in pieces, got off with a mere apology; etc., etc.

During the civil war, Lincoln had the reputation of being Puritan, though in the Short Parliament of 1640 a speaker declared that "Mass was commonly celebrated in Oxford,"

and that in the Mitre Inn, where the lessees had the credit, at least, of being steady Catholics.

During the Parliamentarian visitation, Lincoln had the distinction or, as some might say, the honour of finding four fellows who were heartily with the unwelcome visitors; one of these whose name betrayed him—Thankful Owen—was foisted upon St John's as president. In the end, however, for some reason or other, all were cleared out and their places filled up by "the dregs of the neighbour University."

Towards the end of the Independents' usurpation, Lincoln was fortunate in securing, first as a student and then as sub-rector, Nathaniel, afterwards Lord Crewe. His father, John Crewe of Stene, turned out of the Long Parliament by Pride's Purge, was the first to open negotiations for the restoration of Charles II.; and his son, first as proctor of the University, then as bishop of Oxford and rector of Lincoln, did much to repair the ravages made on Oxford by the Puritanical tyranny. He was a man of affairs rather than a theologian, and a courtier rather than an ecclesiastic, though he was the first to appear in Christ Church with a surplice and cassock of the correctest cut. By his generous benefactions he has made his mark, not only on his college, but also upon the University. Under him, Lincoln reached its zenith.

Lincoln can also boast of John Wesley, who taking his degree at Christ Church in 1724, was elected as fellow of Lincoln two years later. For a short time he helped his father as curate in an out-of-the-way country parish, but was summoned back to the college by the rector to take charge of pupils. Meanwhile his brother Charles, student and tutor of Christ Church, had gathered together a few more serious men, and had drawn up a few simple rules for their spiritual guidance: they were to receive their sacrament weekly, to read the New Testament, to teach neglected children, and visit the poor and the prisoners in the gaol. Truly, a very laudable beginning of the great Methodist movement! John joined his brother, and

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.]

All Souls College, showing the old Sun-dial.

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afterwards became head of the little band, and its moving spirit. Oxford, however, would have none of Methodism; and ere long the Wesleyan societies definitely separated from the Church of England. The sect which arose from these small beginnings has now extended itself all over the globe.

Lincoln, which was first built in a simple and attractive style of architecture, was refaced in 1824, and then assumed sham battlements and embrasures, much to its disadvantage.

Mark Pattison, one of the leaders in the great Liberal movement of the last century, was elected rector in 1861.

9. All Souls College

Our war with France, beginning with the victory at Agincourt, but ending with our ignominious defeat by Blessed Joan of Arc fifteen years later, was, strange as it may appear, chiefly accountable for the foundation of All Souls College.

The founder, Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, educated at Winchester School, was one of the first to be nominated by Wykeham as scholar of his newly established College of St Mary's. He became statesman and adviser of Henry V., in the days when great prelates had diplomacy thrust upon them. A staunch supporter of the Lancastrians and his royal patron, he entered fully into the king's mind in bringing about the war (which at the beginning, at least, was deemed religious), and even furnished munitions. Afterwards, however, when the prolonged conflict had drained England of its best blood, regret lay heavy on his soul; and so by way of expiation he determined to found a "college of poor and indigent clerks bounden with all devotion to pray for the souls of the glorious memory of Henry V., lately King of England and France, the Duke of Clarence, and all other lords and lieges of the realm of England, whom the havoc of that warfare between the two realms hath drenched with the bowl

of bitter death; and also for all the souls of the faithful departed."

The idea of expiation which dominated the foundation of All Souls may not have been primary in the mind of the archbishop, for some years before he had begun to found a college in St Giles, dedicating it to St Bernard; this, in its unfinished state, he handed over to the Cistercians of Rewley Abbey, who retained possession of it until the time of the Reformation, when, as will be seen later, under Sir Thomas White, it became the present St John's College.

Before this again, he established a school or college at Higham Ferrers, his birthplace, and endowed it for eight priests, the head of whom was to be a graduate; and in the University itself he had founded what was called "Chichele's hutch," a chest of money to be let out to poor students, each borrower being asked to say five *Paters* or *Aves* for the souls of the founder and all the faithful departed.

All Souls dates from 1437, when Berford Hall, vulgarly called Charleton's Inn, was purchased. It stood at the corner of what was then called Cats Street (*cattorum vicus*), now politely named St Catharine's Street, immediately opposite the east end of the University Church. In 1438, a royal charter of incorporation was procured, in which document it appears that the founder, after the example of Adam de Brome, handed his property over to the king, thus making the foundation, in name at least, a royal one. Not content with this, the archbishop, always a faithful defender of the prerogatives of the Holy See, sent the first warden to Rome to procure the Pope's confirmation and licence. This was granted, together with other grants and privileges, in a Bull dated 21st June 1439. The college is authorised to build a chapel or oratory, and to bury its members and servants within its own precincts; and during interdict is permitted to have divine service, though "with hushed voice, closed doors, and without peal of bells," provided, of course,

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Entrance Gateway (High Street) of All Souls College, showing the mediæval sculpture.

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that no excommunicated person be within, and the college itself be not included in the interdict.

In the year 1442, Henry VI. confirmed the previous charter with supplementary privileges, exempting the college from certain taxes, and promising the royal protection for ever. In this charter, the prayers of the community of "All Soulen College," or "The Warden and College of all Faithful Souls deceased of Oxford," are to be devoted "not only for our welfare and that of our godfather the archbishop, while alive, and for our souls when we shall have gone from his light, but also for the souls of the most illustrious Prince Henry, late King of England, of Thomas, late Duke of Clarence, our uncle, of the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other noble subjects of our father and ourself who fell in the wars for the crown of France, as also for the souls of all the faithful departed."

Having obtained several other tenements and halls adjoining the one first purchased, the building of the front quadrangle was proceeded with, under the founder's eyes, he residing at Oseney Abbey the while. This quadrangle remains very much as the founder left it, with its tower on the High, where originally the warden had his lodgings, and the muniment room above. This ancient arrangement of the lodging of the Head over the gate was obviously in order that he might see who passed in or out; their requirements were more modest than in these days. A stone entablature, depicting souls in purgatory and the delivering angel, may still be seen on the tower over the gate and facing the street, having happily escaped the reforming iconoclasts. The statues of the founder and the royal patron are more recent.

The chapel, which forms the north side of the old quadrangle, originally contained seven altars besides the high altar, four of which were respectively dedicated to the four Latin doctors of the Church. It has been much "restored from

time to time"; but the stalls generally and the miserere seats are contemporary. The great reredos, adorned with an image of the Blessed Trinity, Our Lord sitting in judgment surrounded by angels, and the words: *Surgite mortui, venite ad judicium*, and presumably the principal heroes that fell in the war, was hopelessly wrecked, first in Edward VI.'s time and afterwards by the Puritans, and the whole was covered with plaster. The court painter of Charles II. was commissioned to paint the "Last Judgment" on this plaster, which, according to a contemporary, was "too full of nakeds for a chapel." In 1870, some workmen discovered fragments of the now forgotten reredos: fragments which showed that it must have been one of the most beautiful works of the age. From these fragments the present reredos was carefully constructed, and the then living members of the college were immortalised, wearing the apparel of bygone heroes: a poor substitution for all the lost chantry Masses! The glass in the ante-chapel is contemporary with the founder. It is interesting to note that though prayers for the dead were forbidden by Act of Parliament, they were not formally removed from the statutes of this college until the year 1857.

The old hall, which was to the east of the chapel, but at right angles to it, was pulled down; and the present one, forming the north of the east quandrangle, and partly on the site of the old one, was begun in 1729. The great quadrangle on the north was begun by the erection of the famous Codrington Library, commenced in 1716 by Nicholas Hawksmoor, a pupil of Wren. It is so named after Sir Christopher Codrington, who founded it; he was an undergraduate of Christ Church, and became fellow of All Souls in 1690. The library with its 80,000 books, notably on history and law, ranks highest among college libraries. For the making of this quadrangle, the old cloisters, wherein the dead were buried, were destroyed, and an old orchard to the east of it rooted up. It was completed by the new cloisters, which run

along St Catharine Street, in 1734. This quadrangle, with its highly crocketed pinnacles and its effective twin towers, though contravening the canons of architecture, has a peculiar beauty of its own. Said Walpole, "The architect has blundered into a picturesque scenery not devoid of grandeur." The warden and fellows of the time even urged Hawksmoor to pull down the founder's quadrangle, as being "barbarous Gothick." To his honour be it said that he refused to do so, alleging that he could never build anything so fine.

The present warden's house facing the High was built in 1706, the old lodgings being converted into rooms for the fellows.

All Souls has been justly called "the daughter of New College," not only because its founder was a New College man, but because many of its statutes are taken verbatim from those of Wykeham.

There were to be forty fellows and no more; twenty-four were to be artists, and sixteen jurists. All, after taking their M.A. degree, were to proceed to the priesthood. All Souls differs from the other colleges at the present day in the fact that all its members, but four, are graduates; these four are scholars named Bible-clerks, who, though not mentioned in the first statutes, are of early origin; they are probably a development of the regulation that provides for "one clerk or honest servitor who shall diligently serve in the hall and common-room." The earliest statutes enjoin that the Bible shall be read during dinner; this duty evidently devolved upon the Bible-clerks and gave them their title.

All had to wear a livery, said to have been of purple colour. The administration was to be in the hands of a warden, sub-warden, two bursars, two deans, and a seneschal or steward chosen from among the fellows.

The secondary object of the founder was to increase the number of the secular clergy, then "notoriously diminished": men well versed in canon and civil law, who might occupy

high positions in Church or State, rather than become teachers or professors. From its first beginning to the present day, All Souls has been a society of men devoted to study or awaiting preferment.

The designation of "All Souls" drew the attention of devout people: it became a place of pilgrimage. Moreover, Archbishop Stafford obtained an indulgence of forty days for all who visited the chapel on All Souls' Day, as also on the Sunday within the octave of the translation of the relics of St Thomas of Canterbury, and there prayed "for the souls of the faithful deceas'd, at rest with Christ," repeating the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation. The college possessed also several relics, among which were one of the true cross, and a tooth of St John the Baptist. A record of 1451 states that at the requiem of Lady Isabella Shottesbrooke, nearly a thousand of the faithful received Holy Communion.

At the beginning of the Renaissance, All Souls had the honour of producing three great scholars imbued with its spirit: Thomas Caius, William Latimer (not to be confused with Hugh Latimer the reformer), and Thomas Linacre; John Leland, also, though a Cambridge man, studied for several years within the college.

All Souls, to its shame be it said, passed almost unscathed through the Reformation period. It began badly; for "with one mouth and voice assent and consent under our common seal affixed in our chapter house," it accepted the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn as lawful; and, renouncing the authority of "the Bishop of Rome, who in his Bulls usurps the title of Pope," undertook to regard the king as supreme head of the English Church. (However, H. Gold, a fellow elected in 1519, was hanged at Tyburn, *propter crimen læsæ majestatis*, along with Elizabeth Barton.) This easy compliance was chiefly due, no doubt, to the warden, John Warner, who succeeded in making himself subservient to Henry, to Edward, as also to Queen Mary; he then resigning, was actually

restored under Elizabeth, and held the wardenship until he was made Dean of Winchester in 1565.

All Souls, however, though it showed itself compliant to Elizabeth in things spiritual, successfully opposed Her Majesty in matters temporal, in a series of lawsuits regarding its advowsons, and in a prolonged attempt to compel the college to lease their "Middlesex Woods" to Lady Jane Stafford, at a nominal rent. And this, in spite of "blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults, tongue-batteries," the browbeating of Sir Walter Ralegh, and the queen herself, who took their "bold deniall in every evill part."

However, the college had to give up its church plate, Mass books, copes, crosses, and all such "superstitious and idolatrous monuments," to be defaced and broken; two "crewets" beautifully wrought in silver, and ornamented with swans' heads, were saved from the wreckage, and are still in possession of the college.

Among those who left the college rather than renounce their faith, may be mentioned the following: Thomas Dolman and Thomas Dorman, both fellows, who went abroad and lived in the quiet exercise of their priesthood; Jasper Heywood, another fellow, who, going abroad, entered the Society of Jesus, and was sent back to England as superior in place of Father Robert Parsons. He is described as an able disputant, and made a great number of converts, himself happily escaping the hands of the pursuivants.

All Souls flourished vigorously during the next century, and chiefly under the wardenship of Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards archbishop, and the builder of the present Sheldonian Theatre. One of its wardens, named Moket, however, had a book of his publicly burnt for its Calvinism, and earned the sobriquet, "The Roasted Warden."

In 1635, Jeremy Taylor, fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, was imposed upon All Souls by Laud, then visitor, against the regulations, in the face of the opposition of all the fellows, and in spite of his having been unlawfully "nominated" by the

outgoing fellow. Perhaps Laud knew his man: he certainly knew his own power, and the college has not ceased to congratulate itself on his *felix culpa*.

The college, zealous for King Charles, emptied its treasury to assist him in repelling the great rebellion, and besides, delivered up all its plate to the value of £14,000 of our money. It was declared to be very acceptable, and a promise was made that 8 per cent. interest would be paid for the loan. The failure of the king's cause, alas, made every Oxford loan a gift. Besides this splendid generosity, which must have reduced the college to very slender commons, we find All Souls undertaking to maintain one hundred and twenty soldiers for four months.

Loyal to a man, All Souls gave Cromwell's visitors a very lively time. Sheldon was arraigned for his haughty refusal to submit to their authority, and for his "contemptuous carriage." Declining to appear, he was with much difficulty hustled out of the college, and escorted with a guard of "musqueteers" to a house near Cross Inn, to be detained during the Protector's pleasure, followed by a great company of scholars, and blessed by the people as he passed through the streets.

A pseudo-custos, as he is always called, was intruded, John Palmer by name, whom Wood describes as "a great Rumper," having represented Taunton in the Rump Parliament. It would appear that he set about destroying the sculptured ornamentation of the college, for a representation of Our Lord's Resurrection which stood above the gate was defaced; but the other statues were saved on the appeal of one Nixon, a leading Puritan in the city.

The pseudo-warden lay dying when Oxford, beside itself with joy, celebrated the restoration of the monarchy with bells ringing and bonfires blazing. He was certainly well out of the way.

But there were two men thrust upon the college whom All Souls will never regret: Thomas Sydenham, who afterwards

gained European fame by his researches in medical science, and Christopher Wren, whose sun-dial on the chapel wall (now removed to the library) was so accurate that every one set his watch right by it. On it are inscribed the words, *Pereunt et imputantur*, "The hours pass away, but we must render an account for them." But Wren set his mark on many other places in Oxford and elsewhere, and needs no eulogy here.

Coffee was introduced into Oxford in the year 1650 by Jacob the Jew, who opened a shop in the Parish of St Peter's-in-the-East. Five years later, "Arthur Tillyard, apothecary and great royallist, sold coffey publickly in his own house against All Souls Coll. He was encouraged to do so by some royallists now living in Oxon, and by others who esteemed themselves either virtuosi or wits: the chiefest were of All Souls, as Peter Pett, Thom Millington, Tim Baldwin, Christopher Wren. . . ." When the king returned, an excise was set upon it, as also upon tea, though this was considered to be a ladies' drink, and was called catlap; and the drinking of it after dinner instead of wine was condemned as a "base, unworthy, Indian practice."

Pepys, coming to see Oxford in 1688, which he describes as "a mighty fine place and well seated," paid five shillings to view the college and Chichele's picture: an exorbitant fee if it were actually demanded!

On the accession of James II., there were again feastings, bonfires, and much rioting, in which unacademic sports All Souls was at this period foremost. A leader of the revels was the Hon. Leopold Finch, son of the Earl of Winchelsea, who was afterwards elected warden on his promise to reform. When the Monmouth rebellion broke out, he mustered a company of scholars in scarlet coats, with white feathers in their caps, and marched them out towards Islip to keep the London road, with banners flying and a drum beating. Needless to say they encountered no enemy; but on their

return they were entertained by the Earl of Abingdon and sent home "well fuz'd."

No wonder there was a falling-off of discipline, as both Prideaux and Hearne relate. But the drum with two blunderbusses still adorn the bursary! Finch, in spite of his promises, "jobbed, drank, and died with the bailiffs in his house." No wonder the English Church languished, to use the expressive phrase of Wood. It was Finch who saved the college, when the Protestant wind brought over the Prince of Orange, by "going over."

In the eighteenth century, the college is described as composed of *bene nati*, *bene vestiti*, *et modice docti*: well-dressed men of good family and mediocre attainments. *Terræ Filius*, the *Punch* of the period, writes: "In All Souls live your Smarts, your gallant gentlemen; you would think them all bodies and no souls."

It was during this period that the old custom of "hunting the mallard" gave a pretext for much boisterous rioting. The story goes that, when the college was building, a mallard was discovered in one of the drains, whence, doubtless, it was harried with sticks and stones, and probably eaten afterwards. But no matter. It needed but a poet of very moderate ability to bring about the apotheosis of the bird as tutelary of the college, and a set of roysterers to establish the custom. We venture to give a verse of this doggerel song:

"The Griffin, Bustard, Turkey, Capon,
Let other hungry mortals gape on,
And on their bones with stomach fall hard:
But let All Souls men have their mallard.

Chorus:

"O by the blood of King Edward,
O by the blood of King Edward,
It was a swapping, swapping Mallard!

. . . . . .

Heber, the great missionary bishop who wrote "From Greenland's Icy Mountains . . ." when an undergraduate at Brasenose, describes how, from his window, he witnessed the celebration of the feast of the Mallard, and caught a severe cold in consequence. Forty fellows on the roof of the library with immense lighted torches, thundering the chorus, "O by the blood of King Edward!" He was afterwards a fellow of All Souls himself; but whether he ever indulged in this boisterous orgy does not appear.

But the nineteenth century saw a reformation in the college, and a long list of famous men: the late Lord Salisbury, Bishop Wilberforce, W. E. Gladstone, and many another name of note were counted among the fellows.

In spite of all commissionary attempts to the contrary, All Souls has succeeded in maintaining its first foundation as a college of masters and doctors. But the requiem Masses which were the very *raison d'être* of its establishment—where are they?

10. Magdalen College

What is now, taking it all in all, the most beautiful College of Oxford, was founded by another great Bishop of Winchester, who may also have been a Wykehamist, William de Waynflete. He was certainly educated at Oxford, and became master of Winchester School in the year 1429. Afterwards he was made, by Cardinal Beaufort, master of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen at Winchester, and it may be that his attachment to the hospital was the reason he called his college by the name it still bears.

Waynflete was Wykehamist in sentiment if nothing else, his new foundation being chiefly modelled on that of New College.

Successively master of the king's new school of Eton, provost, and king's counsellor, he was raised to the see of Winchester on the death of Cardinal Beaufort in 1447, and

consecrated in the college chapel of Eton. Almost immediately after he obtained the king's licence to found a hall in Oxford for the study of philosophy and theology, which he named the Hall of St Mary Magdalen or simply Magdalen Hall. It is interesting to note that in this first charter the vernacular name of "Maudelayne" is also given, which name the present college still retains.

The first tenements secured for the foundation were on the south side of the High, near what is now known as Merton Street, between the new examination schools and Logic Lane. The charter, dated 6th May, 1448, authorises a president and fifty graduate scholars, holding a common seal, and permission to possess property in mortmain to the value of one hundred pounds a year.

Here for ten years Magdalen Hall flourished; but when the founder was made Lord High Chancellor of England in 1456, a nobler ambition possessed him as regards his poor scholars, and he looked about for a finer site on which to build a college worthy of his name. He found it by the Cherwell, near the east gate. Here, as far back as the year 1233, a hospital had been founded "for the relief of poor scholars and other miserable folk." It was then in no great demand, and the brethren who had charge of it had dwindled down to five; to pension the brethren and put the land to higher usage was a commendable work. Waynflete had no difficulty in negotiating a transfer, and his design was sanctioned by Pope Calixtus III., after a full investigation had been made by a commission appointed for that purpose. Thus Waynflete was free "to change earthly things to heavenly, and things transitory to things eternal, by providing in place of the hospital a college of a president, secular scholars and other ministers for the service of God and the study of theology and philosophy; of whom some (were) to teach these sciences without fee, at the cost of the college."

The land thus acquired, bounded on the north by the

fields of Holywell, on the south by the High, on the west by what is now known as Long Wall Street, and on the east by the Cherwell, is little less than a hundred acres in extent, of which the present buildings occupy about twelve.

Of the old hospital buildings very little remains. The old chapel was incorporated in the line that faces the High, and may be located by the old pilgrim's doorway, now blocked up. The present college kitchen, beyond the south-east corner of the cloister quadrangle, is said to be that of the old hospital also, which the small anciently-carved face of a monk above one of the doorways within would seem to affirm.

The first work of the founder was to build the enclosing wall. It occupied a period of six years, during which time the scholars made themselves as comfortable as they could in the old buildings: in those days, students were content with little beyond the bare necessities of life.

Then the foundation stone of the chapel was blessed by Robert Toly (Tully), and laid "in the midst of the altar" on 5th May, 1474. In the contract for the chapel it is specified that the windows are "to be as good as or better than" those of All Souls.

There were two towers built; one over the chapel porch, that is, to the north of the nave-end, and known as the Muniment Tower, as containing the college archives; and the other, still called the Founder's Tower, that marks the entrance to the beautiful cloisters on the west.

In building the chapel and hall, Waynflete imitated New College even to the reredos, which, destroyed also at the Reformation, is now again restored. Besides the high altar, there were six others in the anti-chapel, hardly to be called a nave, and a small oratory on the north of the choir wherein the daily requiem Mass was sometimes said. Into this oratory was transferred, in 1720, the tomb of Richard Patten, the father of the founder. As the founder himself is buried

in his own cathedral, usage hardly justifies this chapel being called the founder's oratory.

In the midst of the cloisters formerly stood the *lavacrum* or washing-place, now happily removed; but not so the truly grotesque hieroglyphic figures, which have long ceased to convey any useful meaning; they were put up after the founder's time. When James I. visited the college and pronounced it "the most absolute building in Oxford," these figures were actually gaudily painted in his honour: Moses, for instance, received a cloak of bright blue!

The majestic chapel tower, which dominates not only the college but the city, with its "most tuneable and melodious ring of bells," was built a little later; began in 1492, it was not completed until the year 1507. It was built to stand alone, as bell-towers often did in those days, but shortly after its completion more rooms were evidently needed, and so the picturesque buildings adjoining its east and west were erected to form, with the chapel, Chaplain's Quadrangle.

Tradition ascribes this stately, glorious tower to Thomas, afterwards Cardinal Wolsey, who, graduating at the early age of fifteen and thereby earning the sobriquet of "Boy Bachelor," was twice bursar of the college during its erection. At five o'clock on every first of May, the president, fellows, scholars, and choristers ascend to the top of the tower in surplices, and sing a Latin hymn to the Holy Trinity, while gathering crowds below listen with upturned faces. The origin of the custom is not known. There is no evidence that it is a Protestant substitution for the requiem celebrated for the soul of Henry VII., as is commonly asserted; it may simply be the survival of the inaugural ceremonies; the present tune is a composition of Dr Rogers, organist in 1685. Before this time the occasion would seem to have been purely secular in character, consisting of "several merry catches" with both vocal and instrumental music, and lasting for two hours. Wood speaks of the choral minister of the house, according to ancient

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford

The Cloisters of Magdalen College, showing the Grotesques.

[*To face p.* 158.

custom, "saluting Flora" every year on 1st May, at four in the morning, with vocal music of several parts. There certainly was a requiem Mass for Henry VII., in return for benefactions made to the college, but it was celebrated on the 2nd or 3rd October.

The line of buildings mentioned above was extended westwards in 1635, and include the present porter's lodge; this forms the south side of what is called St John's Quadrangle, though quadrangle it hardly is. In the angle formed by it and the corner of the chapel, is a curious out-door pulpit from which, in ancient times, a sermon was preached on the Feast of St John the Baptist, the quadrangle being decorated with boughs, in realistic commemoration of this open-air preacher of penance. The custom has been revived within the last few years.

Almost facing the lodge, a picturesque building known as Grammar Hall has happily been allowed to stand: it was built by the founder, and formed part of the original Magdalen School, which now occupies more commodious buildings adjoining the college and opening in Long Wall Street. The hall of this school, between the college buildings and Long Wall Street in the High, should be noted as a fine specimen of modern Gothic architecture; it was erected in 1851.

Beyond the cloisters to the north, running parallel, but separated by two hundred feet of lawn, is a massive line of buildings in the Italian style, three stories high and three hundred feet in length: alone in its solid grandeur and singularly incongruous. It was erected in 1733-5, and represents part of a design determined upon by the college authorities, to build an immense new quadrangle, demolishing the ancient cloisters! We may be grateful that the funds of the college did not permit of this vandalism being carried out.

West's Buildings, beyond the college kitchen, were erected in 1783.

The president's lodgings, opposite the porter's lodge, which

would have formed the south-west corner of the proposed quadrangle, were erected in 1886; the beautiful St Swithun's Buildings that face the High behind the trees, in 1880.

Above the beautiful western door of the chapel that opens upon St John's Quadrangle, is some interesting stone carving with small statues in niches of St Mary Magdalen (in the centre), St John the Baptist, St Swithun, King Edward IV., and the founder, in humility, kneeling.

On the handsome outer gateway, designed by Welby Pugin, is an excellent statue of the Madonna, immediately over the door within. St Mary Magdalen is in the corresponding position without, between the founder and King Edward again.

When the great tower was restored in 1891, another statue of St Mary Magdalen by Dressler was replaced in its ancient niche beneath the pinnacles on the east.

The sculptured roses of Lancaster were painted white when Edward defeated his rival on the field of Northampton. Waynflete had resigned his chancellorship to the king in his tent three days before; nevertheless he was "in great dedignation with Edward," and had to pay five thousand marks "for contynuance of his gode grace and favour."

The grove became the Deer Park in the beginning of the eighteenth century, about which time the noble elms now standing began to be planted. The Water Walk, "those pleasant meanders shadowed with trees . . . as delectable as the banks of Eurotas, where Apollo himself was wont to walk and sing his lays" (to use the language of Wood), were completed as they now stand at the middle of the last century, the Addison's Walk, that strip of it on the northern side, being already thus designated.

For the first twenty years, under the able management of its first president, the college flourished without any written statutes; these the founder supplied *seriatim*, finally codifying and sealing them in 1482, after securing their confirmation by Bull of Sixtus IV.

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Magdalen College Chapel. The open-air Pulpit in the far corner.

[*To face p.* 160.

Most of the statutes are based on those of Wykeham's; but after the example of Merton's *portionistæ* or postmasters, he provided *medios communarios* or demies, who were to receive half commons, and also *commensales*, who were to be the sons of noble and powerful friends of the college, living at the expense of their parents or kindred. Provision was also made for sixteen choristers with their instructor (unless one of the chaplains or clerks undertook that office), who were to wait at table also.

For some years after its foundation, the college maintained an almshouse that had belonged to the hospital: a casual ward, as we should call it, wherein "pore distressed people that were fit to be pitied" were lodged for several nights as occasion served. It ceased with the Commonwealth, and at the Restoration the building was converted into chambers.

Magdalen has basked in the sunshine of royal favour. Edward IV. in 1481 came to see the college, riding from Woodstock to do so; arriving at the north gate of the city after sunset, he was escorted thither by torches, and received a complimentary address from the president, to which he courteously replied. On the next day he joined a solemn procession round the cloisters and precincts. Richard III. two years later received a similar welcome, with the addition, however, of certain disputations in which the celebrated William Grocyn took part, he being one of the college readers at the time. A few months after, the college sent congratulations to Henry VII. on his victory at Bosworth Field, and its President Mayew to represent it at his coronation! Prince Arthur was twice entertained here in 1495-6, and a piece of tapestry representing his marriage with Katharine still hangs in the president's lodgings. Reginald Pole was entered here at the age of twelve, as "nobleman of the College."

On the accession of Edward VI., John Harley, master of the school, preached a sermon in St Peter's-in-the-East on justification by faith alone, and "spake very boldly against the Pope,

his party, and such matters that he thought were superstitious. . . ." Later on, a fellow named Bickley, on the eve of Whitsunday, went up to the high altar, and in the presence of a large congregation assembled for Vespers, openly desecrated the Blessed Sacrament, "to the great offence of a great nomber."

Another fellow named Williams "pulled a priest from the Aulter after he was past the Gospel, and flong away his book. . . ." Then bringing other men of the same stamp, they with hatchets "marred there such books as were not bought for xl^{li}."

In 1552, the king, disregarding all the statutes to the contrary, forced the fellows to elect a Cambridge man as President, Walter Hadden, in place of one of the greatest the college has ever had, Owen Oglethorpe. The latter had been morally compelled to resign on account of a multitude of charges brought against him for his Catholic proclivities. Thomas Abel, D.D. (martyred 1540), and Anthony Brookby, O.S.F., a professor of divinity (martyred 1537), were Catholic martyrs from Magdalen.

Under the new president the work of demolition went on apace. Vestments and other altar furniture to the value of £1000 were disposed of for £50, and the money devoted to the renovation of the president's lodgings; money left for chantry Masses was applied to scholarships; Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Coverdale were received as guests of the president at the cost of the college. Nowhere was deformation more complete.

It is hardly, therefore, a matter of surprise that when Queen Mary sent a letter to the college annulling all ordinances made against the ancient statutes, that Hadden discovered he had important business requiring a leave of absence for awhile. His example was followed by all the over-zealous Protestant fellows. On Hadden's resignation shortly after, Oglethorpe was elected again in his place.

It was Owen Oglethorpe who, as Bishop of Carlisle,

crowned Elizabeth queen; but his loyalty would go no further; he was deprived for refusing to take the oath of the Queen's supremacy, and died soon after. Says Cardinal Allen: "When he saw the issue of that matter, and both himself and all the rest of his sacred Order deprived, and the Church's holy laws and faith, against the conditions of her consecration and acceptation into that royal room violated, he sore repented himself all the days of his life, which were for that special cause both short and wearisome afterwards unto him."

The queen's visitor, Robert Horn of Winchester, ejected the president as "an enemy to the syncere Religion of Christ, and therewith an evill husbande for the college. . . ." He was succeeded by Laurence Humphrey, a man so ultra-Protestant that they had difficulty in getting him to wear even his academic robes when he was appointed, with the other doctors in scarlet gowns, to meet the queen near Wolvercote. The queen, as he kissed her hand, rallied him on the point. "Dr Humphrey," said she, "methinks this gown and habit becomes you very well, and I marvel that you are so straight-laced in this point; but I come not now to chide." He was not the man to resent such gracious condescension; and the college followed suit, falling very soon into great disorder.

An example may be given. Certain scholars had been deer-stealing in Shotover Woods, and one of them was imprisoned by Lord Norris. When his lordship next came to Oxford, the friends of the chief delinquent, "with their gowns girt about them, armed with divers sorts of weapons," made an attack upon the Bear Inn, near All Saints Church, where he was staying, and "sorly wounded" my lord's keeper. The fray was stayed by the vice-chancellor and the proctors, who rushing in among the scholars sent them away with fair words. Not to be thus robbed of their vengeance, they secretly ascended the great tower armed with stones, and waiting until

Lord Norris departed, saluted him and his retinue with a shower of these missiles, wounding several, although, having got wind of the ambush, these had provided themselves with boards and tables. Had not Norris been in his coach, says Wood, he would certainly have been killed.

Later on, Magdalen had become "the very nursery of Puritans," and the school hall, under John Wilkinson, the chief centre of Puritanism in Oxford.

However, during the Civil War, the college declared strongly for the king, though it had produced one of his famous opponents in John Hampden. Was this because the king on his accession had chosen its president, Accepted Frewen, as one of the court chaplains? Anyhow "Accepted" Frewen belied his name, becoming a strong Laudian. So the road opposite the college was barricaded with cannon mounted, and tons of large stones were carried to the top of the tower to be hurled on the heads of the Parliamentary forces. When the king entered Oxford, his ordnance and great guns were driven into the college grove, and he himself with Prince Rupert, a former alumnus of the college, found the tower an excellent coign of observation. All the college plate, with the exception of the founder's cup, went to the melting-pot. Moreover, when the Parliament got the upper hand, the founder's mitre, staff, and other relics were delivered to the Usher of the Black Rod, and never recovered. They were valued at £2000. Then followed the vexatious visitation of Oxford, in which Magdalen figured first. The president was ejected, and Wilkinson, already mentioned as principal of the hall, put in his place. Of the fellows, only six submitted, twenty-eight being expelled, with twenty-one of the demies, all the chaplains, and all the choristers; the vacant places were filled by persons named by the visitors. Tyranny could hardly go further.

After the death of Wilkinson, Thomas Goodwin, chaplain to the council of state, was appointed by the Parliament to

succeed him, without any sort of election. On account of his peculiar head-gear, he was known by the name of Nine-caps. Addison tells the story of a young man aspiring to a demyship, being led into a dark room and confronted by his examiner, a man "with half a dozen night-caps on his head, and religious horror in his countenance," who required full particulars of his conversion, and demanded to know whether he was "of the number of the elect." Small wonder the lad was plucked!

On the Restoration, John Oliver, who had been deprived by Cromwell, was restored by order of the House of Lords, together with seventeen fellows and eight demies. Again, when Oliver died, the king, in spite of the opposition of the fellows, ordered them to elect one, Thomas Pierce, "or else they would know what it was to disrespect their king." He was elected accordingly. It was certainly a bad precedent that had thus been created, as James II. found to his cost.

Two years after King James ascended the throne, the presidentship became vacant by the death of Clerke, and the fellows received a royal mandate recommending Antony Farmer, who, though he had been a member of the college, had never been a fellow, and so according to the statutes was ineligible. Besides he was a man of evil life, and though not a Catholic, "was willing to be thought so, because it might do him a kindness." Meanwhile the fellows sent a strong representation to the king, and proceeded to elect one of themselves, John Hough, in spite of a message from the king that he expected to be obeyed.

The college authorities were summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical commission; the election of Hough was declared null and void; the vice-president was suspended from his office; and Fairfax, the chief defendant, from his fellowship. As Farmer was proved to be a thoroughly worthless man, his nomination was set aside, and Samuel Parker,

Bishop of Oxford, substituted. The fellows were determined to have their own way, and refused to obey.

The king was equally determined to exercise his supreme prerogative, and coming to Oxford, held his court at Christ Church. A dramatic scene followed. Cited to appear before him, the fellows showed themselves both disobedient and contumacious, whereupon James grew angry, and ordered them to elect the bishop or feel the weight of a king's hand. They met in the chapel, but declined "to violate their consciences." But it was not so much the violation of the statutes that stood in their way, as hatred to Catholicity. Said Hough: "I see that it is resolved that the Papists must have our college, and I think all we have to do is to let the world see that they take it from us, and that we do not give it up."

While we do justice to the tenacity of the fellows, it should be remembered that, after all, the college was founded by Catholics, with Catholic money, and for Catholics.

Much altercation followed; visitors were appointed; and then the inevitable happened: five and twenty fellows were expelled, the bishop was installed as president, and the vacant places were filled with Catholics, or such as were well-affected towards them.

As we have seen, the same thing, conversely, had taken place many times during the various changes of religion which the Reformation ushered in; but the nation, fed on calumnies for three generations, was in an uproar. The king had gone too far; the wildest suspicions were afloat. On the recommendation, therefore, of several bishops, the king sent an order to his lordship of Winchester, the visitor of the college, "to settle that society regularly and statutably."

The 25th of October has since been kept by the college as Restoration Day, and the invariable toast is, *Jus suum cuique.* But have the rights of all been respected? What regard has been had to the designs of their great founder and the pious donors of chantry Masses?

Magdalen College and Tower. From the Bridge.

[*To face p.* 167.

Nor were the efforts of James, impolitic as they may be called, altogether fruitless. Several Magdalen men were converted to the faith, and going abroad, studied for the priesthood; and either exercised their ministry in peace there, or returning to their native country laboured in a more arduous field.

The Hanoverian period, if we are to believe the evidence of one of its greatest men, Edward Gibbon, was one which reflected little credit on the college. The great historian who entered as a gentleman-commoner in 1752 describes "the monks of Magdalen" as "decent, easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder," while "from the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience."

But the times have changed again. No such indictment can be made in these days against Magdalen.

11. Brasenose College

In these days, when in certain high ecclesiastical circles strange theories of continuity are put forth and accepted, Brasenose might make a very good claim to be considered the first of Oxford colleges. For it was founded directly from a hall, which dates back to the end of the twelfth century, if not farther, the last master of the hall becoming the first principal of the college. Oriel, it will be remembered, takes its present name from an old hall which it incorporated; but its continuity was simply nominal, if even that, for the college was for some time called after Our Blessed Lady. St Edmund's Hall, again, succeeded in maintaining an individual existence: Brazen Nose Hall is the only one that blossomed out into a college; it may have even been a hostel before it became a hall, and thus have been in touch with the very first beginnings of the University itself.

It is related that after the great gown fight of 1250, the men of Brazen Nose Hall stampeded to Stamford, carrying

with them their famous brazen knocker as a sort of totemic pledge of their continuity, and there built a school of their own; but King Edward III. forced them to return, and afterwards, until 1827, all candidates for degrees had to swear that they would not give or attend lectures at Stamford, "as in a university, seat of learning, or general college." One of them named Philip, and described as *obsonator Eneanasensis*, was, in spite of the order, obstinate to the end.

This same brazen nose-knocker was recovered as late as 1890, and after being solemnly carried in procession and toasted, was placed in an honoured position in the present dining hall. What greater proof of historic continuity could be demanded?

Besides this, the college included in its buildings, "Little University Hall," founded, let us say, by King Alfred; the great hall of that name being incorporated, as we have seen, by the college that keeps its proud title of "University" college. This Little University Hall stood at the south-east corner of Brasenose Lane, to the north of the present gate that faces the Radcliffe Camera, and which marks the site of the original Brazen Nose Hall.

The college was founded in the year 1509 by William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, to counteract the evil influences of the new learning, as well as to assist indigent scholars in their studies for the priesthood.

The preface to the statutes is worth quoting in full: "In the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and of the most blessed Mother of God, Mary, the glorious Virgin; and of Saints Hugh and Chad, confessors, and also of St Michael the archangel: We, William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Sutton, Esquire, confiding in the aid of the Supreme Creator, Who knows, directs, and disposes the wills of all that trust in Him, do out of the goods which in this life, not by our merits, but of the grace of His fulness, we have received abundantly, by royal authority

and charter found, institute and establish in the University of Oxford, a perpetual college of poor and indigent scholars, who shall study and make progress in philosophy and sacred theology; commonly called *The King's Hall and College of Brasenose in Oxford;* to the praise, glory and honour of Almighty God, of the glorious Virgin Mary, Saints Hugh and Chad confessors, St Michael the archangel, and All Saints; for the support and exaltation of the Christian Faith, for the advancement of Holy Church, and for the furtherance of divine worship."

The foundation stone of the college was laid on 1st June, as will be seen from an inscription over staircase 1, on the south-west corner of the old quadrangle. Here, on the ground floor, was the old chapel, now converted into the Senior Common-room. This old quadrangle (with its gate tower, in which, according to the established custom, the principal originally had his lodgings; the hall, and the old library, now used as a lecture room) is much as the founders left it, except that in the reign of James I. an additional story was added, and some of the old mullioned windows have been modernised. Above the hall are two antique busts: one of King Alfred the reputed Founder of Little University Hall, and Duns Scotus who is claimed as a scholar of this same hall, as well as of Merton; it is possible that he may have lectured at both.

In the centre of the quadrangle was originally a fantastic maze of greenery; it was cut down in 1727 to make way for a "silly statue," as Hearne calls it. This, we are happy to state, was removed and destroyed in 1881, and that beautiful feature of Oxford quadrangles, the time-honoured lawn, was laid down.

The new chapel was begun in the year 1656, and forms the south side of the second quadrangle, formerly known as the Deer Park. It is ascribed to Wren, and is dedicated to SS. Hugh and Chad; the beautiful fan-tracery of the roof is

said to have been taken from the chapel of St Mary's College which formerly stood in New Inn Hall Street.

On the west side of the same quadrangle is the old kitchen; in the buttery is a portrait of John Middleton, the Child of Hale, after whom the college boat is always named. He was a Lancashire giant, nine feet three inches high, who returning from the court of King James where he had successfully encountered the king's wrestler, visited Oxford, and hearing that there were Lancashire men at Brasenose, went to make their acquaintance. The Brasenose men, generally more renowned for prowess in the field than in the schools, received him gladly as one of themselves: hence the portrait.

But they had a more distinguished visitor in the beginning of the last century, in the person of Louis XVIII. of France, who lunched in the hall. The south window over the dais was put up to commemorate this royal feast. The hall, it may be noted, divides the two quadrangles: the new library, erected at the same time as the new chapel, which it adjoins on its eastern side, completing the square.

A third quadrangle facing the High has lately been built. The foundation-stone of the new front was laid on the quatercentenary day, 1st June, 1909. Though the tower is somewhat overladen with ornament, the general effect of the new buildings is very fine.

Brasenose did not long fulfil the object of its foundation. It seems to have succumbed to the heresies of Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, the Cromwellians, and the rest, almost without striking a blow. We say almost, for the college, stoutly royalist, did indeed resent the intrusions of the Parliamentarians, and the principal was ejected; but they very speedily came to terms, and allowed the visitors to "send packing" the man of their own choice, secretly elected to fill the vacant place.

Anthony à Wood says that Brasenose men were celebrated for having often to appear in the vice-chancellor's court.

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Radcliffe Camera and St Mary's, from the old Quad. of Brasenose College.

[*To face p.* 170.

Once even a principal had to be bound over to keep the peace with the workmen at Corpus, and an undergraduate suffered in durance vile for assaulting a servant of the founder of the same college. And all this in spite of the special rules of discipline, which included an elaborate code of corporal punishment!

Among the college worthies are to be numbered men as diverse in character as the following: John Foxe, the writer of *The Book of Martyrs*, a romantic work which does not bear the test of modern criticism; Robert Burton, author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy;* Bishop Heber, the famous hymn-writer; Elias Ashmole, who entered in order to study physics and mathematics, and founded the museum bearing his name; R. H. Barham, who perpetrated the *Ingoldsby Legends;* H. H. Milman, the historian; and the greatest sporting man of his day, Sir Tatton Sykes. Nor must we forget to mention Thomas Cottam, who, graduating in the year 1568, was soon after converted to the Catholic faith, and entered the Society of Jesus abroad, in 1579. Returning to England, he was captured at Dover, and terribly tortured in Marshalsea Prison and the Tower. Arraigned at Westminster Hall along with Father Campion and others, he was condemned to death for his priestly character. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, with three companions, on 13th May, 1582. Other Catholic martyrs of this house are: John Shert (martyred 1582); Lawrence Johnson *alias* Richardson (martyred 1582); and William Marsden (martyred 1586).

But the college never seems to have had any taste for theology, though founded to teach it. It has never cultivated glorious but dangerous enthusiasms; theological or political revolutions or evolutions hardly seem to have touched it; only in the beginning of the last century did it reach the goal of its desires—sports and athletics; and in these it has maintained a prominent place ever since. B.N.C. has always been masterful on the river.

12. Corpus Christi College

Brasenose is associated with its contemporary Corpus, by way of contrast; for as the former was founded to uphold the ancient system of scholastic philosophy as against what might prove dangerous and exaggerated in the new learning, the latter was founded just seven years after, to teach and uphold all that the Church might legitimately use and assimilate in this same classic revival. Both founders had the same end in view: the exaltation and glory of the Catholic and Roman Church. As to the means, they did not perhaps see eye to eye: one only saw danger where the other saw development.

Bishop Foxe, the Founder of Corpus Christi College, was educated at Boston, near his own native town of Ropesley in Lincolnshire, whence, it is thought, he proceeded to Magdalen College, Oxford. Driven from Oxford by the plague, he finished his course at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and finally took his degree at Paris. Here he was presented to Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who, noting his capabilities, engaged him in his diplomatic service. He accompanied that prince to England, and after the victory of Bosworth Field rose rapidly, being made successively Privy Councillor, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Chancellor of Cambridge University, Bishop of Exeter, Bath, and Wells, Durham, and finally of Winchester. We read that "such was his favour with the king, that no one could ever do so much with him; and no man there was upon whose counsel he so much relied."

He was a scholar, besides being the patron of learning and other good works, a man of affairs, an architect, and a diplomatist. He was selected to negotiate the marriages of Prince Arthur with Katharine of Aragon, and of James IV. of Scotland with Margaret Tudor.

He had among his chaplains Thomas Wolsey, who afterwards supplanted him in the royal favour. There is a story

to the effect that, after his withdrawal from court, he sent a message to his former chaplain declaring that though he was blind in his old age, he could well discern the malice of an ungrateful man, which he had not perceived when he had the use of his eyes, and warning him not to be so blinded by ambition as not to foresee his own end. But this tale may be doubted in the light of a very affectionate letter he sent Wolsey afterwards, in which he praises him for his zeal in undertaking to reform the clergy.

It was when he was released from affairs of State that he founded the college which Erasmus declared would, on account of its *bibliotheca trilinguis* (its three languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), be one of the chief ornaments of Britain, and attract more students to Oxford than Rome had ever done!

The bishop's first design was to found a college for eight monks of St Swithun's Priory of Winchester, and for several secular scholars; for this he had actually obtained a licence in mortmain in the year 1512. But he changed his mind. We need not, however, believe, on the authority of a prejudiced witness, that he did so at the suggestion of his friend Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, who is reported to have said: "What, my Lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihood for a company of bussing monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no. It is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good in the Church and commonwealth."

After all, the monks, never so bad as they have been painted, could look after themselves; the secular clergy were Foxe's immediate care. It was imperative that the doctrines of the Church should be safeguarded against those who, in the new development, were pushing their theories and criticisms too far.

The full and detailed statutes of the founder sufficiently

portray his mind. Following, in the main, the principles laid down in the statutes of the other colleges, these of Bishop Foxe are even more ecclesiastical in spirit, if possible. The president is to be in priest's orders, and all the fellows, except the few who should study medicine, were to proceed thereto as soon as they had obtained their master's degree, in order "that no one may withdraw himself from the Lord's service." Those who declined were no longer to be considered as fellows. There were to be two special chaplains, two acolytes to serve their Masses, and choristers who were also to serve in the hall. Three or four Masses were to be celebrated in the chapel every day, at one of which all were to assist. A long list of feast-days was drawn up, on which there was to be a full choral service, and all were to attend the whole Office, the Asperges, High Mass, and the procession, if such took place. Besides all this, special prayers were prescribed to be said in private, night and morning.

At dinner not only was the Bible to be read, but three or four times a week the president or one of the fellows in divinity was to interpret the portion read, and explain and expound it. All the scholars were to receive the tonsure, and were to be careful always to wear the clerical dress.

After dedicating the college to "the Most Precious Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, His sinless Mother, and all the saints and patrons of the Cathedral Churches of Winchester, Durham, Bath and Wells, and Exeter," the pious founder begins his preface thus: "Here we have no abiding city (as saith the Apostle), but we seek one to come in heaven, at which we hope to arrive with greater despatch and ease if, while we travel in this life, wretched and death-doomed as it is, we rear a ladder whereby we may gain a readier ascent. We give the name of virtue to the right side of the ladder, and that of knowledge to the left, and between these two be steps. . . ."

"Desiring ourselves to ascend by this ladder and thereby to enter heaven, and being anxious to assist others thereto,

we have founded, reared, and constructed a certain bee-hive. . . ."

This metaphor of a bee-hive is sustained throughout. Thus the scholars are "to make wax to the honour of God, and honey dropping sweetness, to the profit of themselves and of all Christians." In speaking of the regulations to be observed in hall, Foxe says: "We would sow honey-bearing flowers there also, that on them the studious and ingenious bees may diet both in body and soul." In selecting books of study he says: "Bees make not honey out of all flowers without choice, but from those of all the sweetest and best scents," and forthwith appoints that there shall be "three rightful herbalists to plant and stock herbs." The first of these, the reader or professor of the Arts of Humanity (the Latin lecturer) is to "manfully root out barbarity from our garden." A reflection on the bad Latinity of the time! The second herbalist is to be a "reader of the Greekists, and of the Greek language, because the holy cánons have established and commanded that one shall never be wanting to the University of Oxford." (The allusion is to the Second Council of Vienne.) Lastly, there is to be "a third gardener, whom it behoves the other gardeners to obey, wait on, and serve, who shall be called reader in Sacred Divinity, a study which we have ever holden of such importance, as to have constructed this our Apiary for its sake."

But the great departure of Foxe from the lines of the statutes of all previous foundations (which caused his college to be hailed as the first of the Renaissance), was that, instead of teaching his scholars philosophy from the books of mediæval schoolmen, he sent them to the original classics. Moreover, he was the first to appoint a lecturer in Greek, who was to open his door to the whole University. Before this, of course, there had been lectures in Greek Humanities, but they were of a private nature. Cicero, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Aristophanes, Euripides, Sophocles, Demosthenes,

Thucydides, were among the authors prescribed, to say nothing of Aristotle and Plutarch; on holidays, Homer, the Epigrams, or some passages from "the divine Plato," were to be read!

Naturally, this new departure caused a *furore* in the University, and the strife between the contending parties, the Trojans and Greeks, as they were called, waxed hot.

For divinity, the students were to betake themselves to "the holy and ancient doctors," Origen, Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Hilary, Chrysostom, John Damascene, and others of the same class, rather than to the more modern and inferior writers. In addition to Latin, Greek might be spoken in the hall, chapel, and dormitory.

The lecturers might be taken from beyond the limits of the University, if they were manifestly superior to their own fellows. Preference was to be given to England, Greece, and Italy beyond the Po. The founder himself started the precedent, and went beyond his own stated preference by inviting Nicholas Kratzer, the mathematician, from Bavaria; Ludovico Vives, the celebrated humanist, from Spain; and others. Strangely enough, a swarm of bees is said to have settled in the roof above the room of the latter, where they remained undisturbed for a hundred years. *Mirabile dictu!* they abandoned their time-honoured abode when the Cromwellian visitors turned out the fellows in 1648.

After the example of other colleges, the statutes were ordered to be read on three occasions during the year, on one of which a scrutiny was to be held and punishments inflicted according to the graduated code: this code included corporal punishment for those under twenty years of age. And "because theory is nothing without practice," disputations were to take place thrice a week in logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, etc.

One fellow and one scholar only were to occupy a dormitory, the former on a high, the latter on a truckle bed; whereas in other colleges three or four or more slept in the

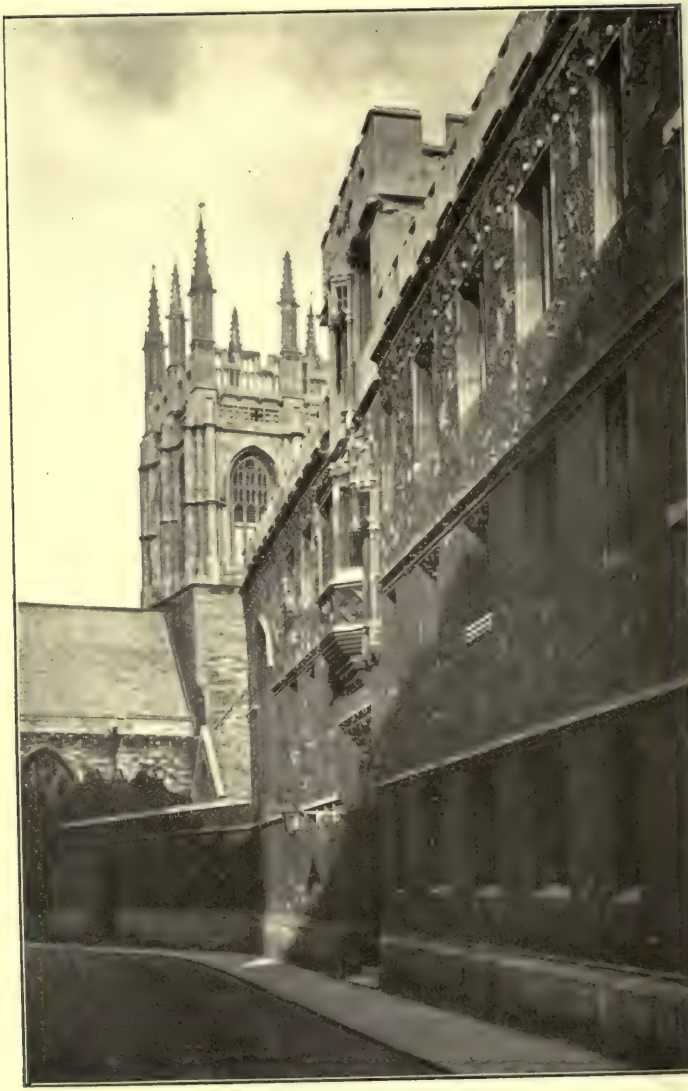

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Front of Corpus Christi College, with the Tower of Merton beyond.

[*To face p.* 177.

same room, though for study each had a separate room or alcove. It would appear that at Corpus the scholar "fagged" for the fellow.

The college began with a high standard of scholarship which it has maintained more or less ever since. The aspirant for a scholarship, for instance, was expected to be able "to dictate a Latin letter off-hand, and also to compose Latin verses, at least in a middling way."

Among the first fellows were Reginald Pole, John Foxe, and several other men from Magdalen, as was also John Claymond the first president: a fact which goes to confirm the opinion that he himself, the founder, had been an alumnus of the same college.

Corpus possesses more original plate than any other college, and various are the reasons assigned for it. Certainly the college was in no way inferior to any other in loyalty to King Charles, though its name does not appear on the list of those which sent their plate to the mint. The pastoral staff of the founder has the figure of St Peter enthroned within its crook. There is a pure gold paten and chalice; an antique salt-cellar overrun with curiously wrought pelicans and horses, deer, and dogs; a silver-gilt lavabo basin, six silver owl spoons, rings, and seals, etc.

Between Merton and St Frideswide's Priory (as it was then) were three halls and two inns with their bits of gardens; these, after some difficulty, the founder bought from their several owners and the work of pulling down and building anew commenced. The present unpretentious front quadrangle, with its chapel, hall, and library remain much as the founder left it, except that a third storey with battlements was added in 1737. The interior of the chapel has been altered several times. The painting over the altar of the Adoration, by Rubens, was presented in 1804. The brass lectern is a gift of the first president; in the ante-chapel is a brass representing him, like the founder in Winchester Cathedral, as a skeleton enveloped in a shroud.

The hall, though small, is beautiful. The library is in its original state, and possesses a great number of books in manuscript: notably, a missal in Latin, but written with Irish characters, the four Gospels written in the same way, the Hours of Our Lady, and the New Testament in two volumes.

Kratzer made a sun-dial in the old garden, but it has disappeared; the one in the quadrangle, surmounted by the symbolical bird of the college, was constructed by Charles Turnbull in the year 1581.

According to Loggan's plan, a fox used to be kept in the old woodyard on the east of this quadrangle, in honour of the founder's name.

On the base of the oriel window that faces the street over the gateway is still to be seen the Chalice and Host, supported by two beautifully carved angels. In this gateway tower the president, as usual, had his lodgings; the new lodgings were built in 1599. The fellows' buildings on the south were erected in 1706; the new buildings, on the other side of the street, opposite Merton, in 1885.

The first president was a man of singular learning and piety; he is described as being, "in prose, another Cicero; in verse, another Naso." It was evidently his piety which led him to exchange the presidentship of Magdalen for that of a new, and therefore somewhat uncertain, foundation. He was accustomed to sign himself, *Eucharistæ servus*, the slave of the Blessed Sacrament; and John Foxe, the romancing martyrologist, describes for the amusement of his readers, but for our edification, that on one occasion when there was a false alarm of fire in the chapel, and all in panic rushed to the doors, he quietly knelt before the altar and committed himself to the protection of his Lord in the Blessed Eucharist.

Claymond was succeeded by Robert Morwent, a Catholic at heart, who acquiesced in the new arrangement under Edward, but was glad to proclaim himself when Mary came to the throne. The rest of the college, save the learned John

Jewel, who prudently retired, seemed much of the same mind, though we must not forget to mention a scholar named Edward Anne, who was flogged for writing a scurrilous poem against the Mass even after the college had been re-established according to the original plan. "Never, surely," pertinently remarks a modern writer, "was a poet so sharply taught the merit of brevity," for the unhappy youth was ordered to receive one lash for each line!

After Morwent came William Cheadsey, who was ejected by Elizabeth and cast into the Fleet Prison, where he languished and died. The queen then nominated William Butcher (or Bocher), who being found guilty of enriching himself at the expense of the college, had to resign; his successor, Thomas Greneway, seemed to have followed his example, and was also deprived, whereupon the college elected Robert Harrison. But inasmuch as he had Catholic sympathies, the queen set him aside, and commanded the fellows to elect William Cole, a learned but worthless man, who escaping from England during the previous reign, formed a band of English Protestants at Strasburg. The college resisted, "being unwilling to have him, his wife and children, and his Zurichian discipline introduced among them." But resistance was as useless at Corpus as at Merton but a few years before: the queen's commissioners forced their way into the college, and having expelled the chief opposers, caused Cole to be elected.

Cole acquired the bad habits of the two previous presidents, and brought the college into debt. The visitor, therefore, took him aside and told him he "must provide for himself." "What, my good lord," exclaimed he, "must I then eat mice at Zurich again?" He was reinstated with an admonition; but afterwards was asked to resign and receive the Deanery of Lincoln instead!

Among those expelled at this time, Wood mentions George Napier (or Napper), who, going abroad was ordained priest and returned to labour in England, making Oxford his

headquarters. Oxford, indeed, was his native place, and his father's house, almost adjoining Holywell Church, still stands. He was at length captured in July 1610, and being condemned for the treason of being a priest, was hanged, drawn and quartered in the Castle yard. His head was affixed over Wolsey's gate at Christ Church, and his quarters at the four gates of the city. The vice-chancellor, proctors, and other officials of the University are reported as having put themselves "undecently forward" on the occasion. There were two other martyrs for the faith who were Corpus men: V. James Fenn, fellow of the college (martyred 1584), and B. Thomas Plumtree (martyred 1570).

Throughout the Elizabethan era Corpus maintained its high scholarship, as such names as John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Hooker, author of the *Ecclesiastical Church Polity*, John Reynolds, and Thomas Jackson, successively presidents, go to prove.

John Reynolds had the honour of being "schooled" by Queen Elizabeth for being too obstinately precise; she told him it was his duty "to follow her laws and not run before them." He was chairman of the Hampton Court conference, and represented the Puritan interest.

Objecting to the words in the marriage service "With my body I thee worship," he was bluffly rebuked by King James. "Many a man speaks of Robin Hood who never shot in his bow. If only he, Reynolds, had a good wife, he would think all the honour and worship he could give her well bestowed." Equally learned, but of the Laudian school of theology, was his successor, Thomas Jackson, whose writings fill twelve great volumes. He died of grief when the civil war became inevitable. Says the chronicler: "One drop of Christian blood (though never so cheaply spilt by others on the ground) was a deep corrosive to his tender heart." He was buried in the chapel, and Robert Newlyn succeeded him. On his devoted head the Parliamentarian vengeance

fell. We first read of the Parliamentarian visitors at Corpus breaking open his lodgings in order to discover "the bedle, staves, and other insignia of the Universitie of Oxon.," feeling the disgrace of having to act without them. What made them think that Newlyn had them does not appear.

The commissioners sat later, but only got evasive answers. One of the scholars summoned to appear was James Metford, a boy of fifteen, whom the chairman would have excused from answering on account of his tender age; but "Dr Cheynell, hot and furious," exclaimed, "Let him answer. He hath original sin in him as well as the rest!" Needless to say, he was ejected, and proved cleverer than his years warranted, by writing a graphic account of the whole affair.

Dr Newlyn's name was "dashed from the Buttery Book, and Edmund Staunton was appointed in his place." A paper nailed to the gate giving the names of the proscribed was torn down. Then "a drum and musqueteers" were sent to the college, and the names read out with the warning that the proscribed were not to remain within five miles of Oxford after sunset, under peril of being apprehended as spies.

The fact that no less than forty-two were chosen to take the place of those expelled, speaks eloquently of the rough time the commissioners must have had.

President Staunton, with all his theological fancies, held the reins of office tight. Two scholars for being out at night without a gown were put out of commons for a week; and in addition, one was ordered to write out in Greek all the more notable parts of Aristotle's Ethics: the other, to write out and commit to memory all the definitions and divisions of Burgersdyk's Logic.

After the Restoration, discipline became so slack that a scholar bearing the non-committal name of John Smith, convicted of an attempt to murder a companion, was condemned to beg pardon for his offence, kneeling three successive days in the hall, and deprived of fifteen days' commons!

It was during this lax time, however, that the college produced one of its greatest men: General Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, prison reformer, and founder of the American colony of Georgia.

Perhaps Corpus never fell quite so low as most of the colleges; in any case, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, it had acquired an academic position only second to that of Oriel. The most notable scholars of this period are Copelston, afterwards provost of Oriel; Philpots, the noted pamphleteer, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; John Keble, author of the *Christian Year*, afterwards fellow of Oriel; and Thomas Arnold.

The King of Prussia during his visit to Oxford in the company of the Emperor of Russia and the Prince Regent, in the year 1814, occupied the president's lodgings. But he was not the first royal guest, for the Duke of Monmouth, King Charles's natural son, had been actually entered as a member, and resided at the college, if not for long. His name was carefully erased after his rebellion in 1685.

In 1794, it was unanimously agreed to discontinue the observance of Corpus Christi Day. And that despite the earnest exhortations of the founder to the president and all other members of the college, "to watch over the observance of the statutes night and day, in virtue of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ," which he had "proposed for their worship."

It was here that Ruskin, elected an honorary fellow in 1871, deploring the fruitless energy spent in athletics, organised his little band of undergraduates, who with pickaxes on their shoulders, marched out to make, mend, or mar the road at Ferry Hincksey.

13. Christ Church

Christ Church, or "The House" (*Ædes Christi*) as it is called by University men, is truly the first of the Renaissance colleges, though that honour is generally accorded to Corpus.

The latter is really the last of the mediæval foundations. Its pious founder, though fully alive to the importance of classical studies, which he was the first to revive, never wished to break away from the ancient ecclesiastical system. He simply grafted the better part of the new learning on to the old stock. It is Christ Church that marks the new epoch.

All the previous colleges were founded in piety: Christ Church was the offspring of ambition. Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and Lord High Chancellor of the realm, was determined to add the proud title of "founder" to his many others. He would outstrip all the other prelate-statesmen, de Merton, de Stapeldon, Wykeham, Waynflete, Foxe, and the rest, and build a college which should be the greatest centre of learning in Christendom. His ambition was without bounds, and his power almost commensurate. A foreign ambassador wrote of him: "He is in very great repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope. He is the person who rules both the king and the entire kingdom. On my first arrival in England he used to say: 'His Majesty will do so and so.' Subsequently, by degrees, he went on forgetting himself, and commenced saying: '*We* shall do so and so.' At present he has reached such a pitch that he says: '*I* shall do so and so.'"

Even so, he was far from being satisfied, and endeavoured to move heaven and earth to get himself elected Pope, in order that he and the king, "like father and son, might dispose of that see, its authority and power, as if they were their own, and give laws to the rest of the world."

It has been well said by a historian of to-day that the spectacle of a great, worldly-minded prelate, wielding both temporal as well as spiritual power, with the king at his back, and wielding this power like a layman, prepared the mind of the nation to submit to the same twofold power when administered by the king alone.

It was in the year 1524 that Wolsey succeeded in exacting

from Clement VII., who was in serious temporal difficulties at the time, a bull empowering him to dissolve the Priory of St Frideswide and apply its properties to the foundation of his college; the plea being that the position of the priory was admirably suited for a college, that the English had an objection in allowing land to be used for such a purpose, and that therefore it was difficult to purchase any; and lastly, that the University seemed likely to come to an end by reason of its slender revenues!

But this was not enough. On the ground that, owing to the plague and other causes, many monasteries throughout the country were reduced in numbers, and were unable on that account to fulfil their rule of religious observance, he obtained bulls for the suppression of others to the yearly value of three thousand ducats. Between thirty and forty small monasteries were thus suppressed, and a great commotion was raised. The great cardinal got himself cordially disliked, but his ambition carried him blindly forward.

Moreover, he was creating a very dangerous precedent, as later events proved. "His proceedings," says Fuller, "made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the king would fell the oaks, seeing the cardinal began to cut the underwood." Many monasteries, through fear, gave presents for the college; and the great cardinal accepted them. "This ambitious cardinal," writes Foxe, "gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provisions of all kinds of precious things."

In 1528, Wolsey obtained a bull for the suppression of St Peter's Priory, Ipswich, in order to found a school there as a feeder to his college at Oxford, after the example of Wykeham. But we are anticipating.

The foundation stone of the new college (known generally as Cardinal College, though dedicated to the Holy Trinity,

the most Blessed Virgin, St Frideswide and All Saints) was laid with pomp and ceremony in July of the year 1525; and a sermon was preached by Bishop Longland from the text, "Wisdom hath built herself a house" (Prov. ix. 1).

The first part of the work to be completed was the spacious kitchen, and the great hall, which stands unrivalled in Oxford, being one hundred and fifteen feet in length, forty feet in breadth, and sixty feet high.

The sight of the magnificent hall with the equally conspicuous kitchen behind, appearing on the south-west corner of what was to be the great quadrangle, set several wags to work on epigrams; the following, a free translation from the Latin, may be taken as an example:

> "This cardinal of yours a college planned,
> A noble work indeed!
> And forth there cometh on his stolen land
> A house in which to feed!"

In order to construct this quadrangle, the Church of St Michael-at-the-South-Gate, together with the adjacent city wall, was entirely destroyed; as also three bays of the priory chapel nave, and the western half of the fifteenth-century cloisters. We may be grateful that Wolsey's original plan to pull down the entire chapel, and build another of vast proportions on the north side of the quadrangle, was never realised. In those days little store was set by old historic buildings. It is to be noted that the splendid staircase of fan-tracery, which figures so largely in books on architecture, was built much later; it was erected from the design of an almost unknown man named Smith, a London architect, in the year 1640; the bell-tower above as late as 1879.

Besides the chapel, the old refectory of the canons still stands; it forms the south side of the cloisters, and until the year 1775 served as the college library. It is now converted into students' rooms.

It will be noticed that the great quadrangle, with its frontage measuring four hundred feet, was originally designed as a cloister. The outstanding bases of the proposed pillars, and the unfinished piers from which the vaulting of it were meant to spring, are the work of the late Mr Bodley: they indicate the original scheme of the founder. At the time of his disgrace Wolsey had built the east, the south, and part of the west sides of the quadrangle, the gateway as far as the octagonal tower (which with the dome was completed by Wren), and had laid the foundations of the new chapel on the north.

For nearly a century the college remained in this unfinished state. The completion of the work was undertaken by Dr Samuel Fell, dean under Charles I. The outbreak of the rebellion hindered him from accomplishing his purpose. But the task was finally achieved after the Restoration by his son, Dr John Fell.

The latter, abandoning the idea of a new chapel, used the stones of the foundation to build the north and the unfinished part of the west side of the quadrangle. It is said that the stone chippings went to make the Broad Walk, which was in consequence called "the White Walk," then "Wide Walk," from which the transition to its present name was easy.

As to the rest of the buildings, Peckwater Quadrangle to the north was built in 1705 by Dean Aldrich; the new library which forms its southern side, begun in 1716, took nearly fifty years to complete: it ranks among the first of college libraries, measuring one hundred and forty-two feet by thirty. This quadrangle has the air of hoary antiquity which the unadorned style of its architecture belies: this is accounted for by the soft oolite stone of which it is constructed.

Canterbury Quadrangle on the south-east corner of Peckwater was erected towards the end of the eighteenth century, on the site of the buildings that formerly belonged to Canterbury Hall, then falling into ruins: of this hall Thomas More was at one time a student, as also at St Mary's Hall.

It was built from the design of James Wyatt, through the munificence of Richard Robinson, the Protestant Primate of Ireland, a former Westminster student.

Lastly, the Meadow Buildings, with the poor gateway and tower that face the Broad Walk (opposite the newly planted avenue of Long Walk that leads to the barges on the river), were erected only in 1863, and replaced what was known as the chaplains' quarters.

The basin in the centre of the great quadrangle was constructed in 1670, and was used as the college reservoir. We are more particular in our day. It is forty feet in diameter, and still bears the name of "the Mercury, from a leaden statue of that god which once adorned it." It is of interest to note that where the fountain now is, stood in mediæval times the "preaching cross" of St Frideswide's. In those days the church had not yet been shortened by Wolsey: hence the cross was situated close to the main entrance.

Over the gateway facing the quadrangle is a statue of Queen Anne, the gift of the Earl of Oxford in 1706. The one of Wolsey which occupies the corresponding position without was made by an Oxford sculptor, Bird, at the expense of the famous Williamite champion, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, one of the seven bishops who resisted King James II., in the year 1719. He sought in this way to restore to Wolsey the honour due to the founder. Till that date the title and honour had invariably been assigned to Henry VIII.

The great bell hanging in Tom Tower, which gives it and the quadrangle its popular name, was one of the peal that came, as before stated, from the spoliated Abbey of Oseney. Dedicated to St Thomas of Canterbury, it bore the legend: "*In Thomæ laude resono Bim Bom sine fraude.*" It was recast and thus inscribed: "*Magnus Thomas Clusius Oxoniensis, renatus Apr.* 1680." It is seven feet in diameter and weighs seven and a half tons. Every evening at five minutes past nine

o'clock, it booms out its one hundred and one deep bass notes to call home the one hundred and one students, as they once were, on King Henry's foundation. The other Oseney bells, Hautclere, Douce, Clement, Austin, Marie, Gabriel, and John, now hang in the tower above the hall staircase. But they have all been recast and renamed.

The ambitious nature of the cardinal's scheme may be gathered from his statutes, which provide for a dean and one hundred canons, sixty of the first rank (equivalent to fellows), and forty of the second rank (scholars), thirteen chaplains, six public professors, twelve clerks, sixteen choristers, a teacher of music, and a retinue of servants. The professors were to lecture on theology, canon law, philosophy, civil law, medicine, and humanities.

In his anxiety for literary proficiency, Wolsey chose as canons several Cambridge men whose orthodoxy was not above suspicion. He found afterwards that he had harboured a nest of "hellish Lutherans," as he termed that sect. One of them, John Clark, used to hold private meetings in his rooms for the spread of his heresy, and gave shelter to Thomas Garret, the former fellow of Magdalen, who came to him with books and tracts for private circulation. Of Garret we have spoken before. Clark was apprehended and died in prison. John Frith, another Cambridge man, was not so fortunate; he was burnt as a recalcitrant heretic at Smithfield in 1533.

Meanwhile Wolsey fell under the king's displeasure, and Cardinal College (*Collegium Thomæ Wolsey Cardinalis Eboracensis*) trembled for its existence. It is strange, considering what followed, that among the articles of his impeachment are several charges brought against him for slandering, oppressing, and suppressing religious houses. His real crime in the eyes of the king was his failure to procure the much-desired divorce; he had done his best, and had even sought from the Pope the power of dispensing from the

divine law. But Clement VII. acted as befitted his high office. In a matter where the law of God was involved, he was firm as a rock.

The college was almost immediately dissolved, in spite of the pitiful petitions of the dying cardinal. In less than three years, however, the king refounded it by letters patent as "King Henry VIII.'s College in Oxford." It was to consist of a dean and twelve canons only; and as dean, John Hygden, a former President of Magdalen, was reinstated.

In the year 1545 this foundation was again surrendered to the king by the dean and chapter; and on the same day surrender was also made of the newly-founded Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary at Oseney. The king was travelling fast along the road of schism, heresy, and sacrilege; he looked with covetous eyes on the lands and estates of Oseney, and conceived the unique idea of joining cathedral and college together. This was actually done by letters patent in 1546, under the title of "Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxon.: ex fundatione Regis Henrici Octavi."

In this new foundation the lands and property, yielding a yearly revenue of £2200, were to be in the hands of the dean and chapter, who were to maintain a full cathedral staff, three public professors in Hebrew, Greek, and Theology, a hundred students (the additional student completing the number one hundred and one was in accordance with the Thurston bequest in 1663), twenty-four servants, and the same number of almsmen.

Two of these canons, both Cambridge men, were deprived on the accession of Queen Mary for being married; but they were restored by Elizabeth. Two others were deprived by Elizabeth for denying her spiritual supremacy.

Richard Cox, the first dean, deprived by Queen Mary for having a wife, as also for his heresy, fled to Frankfort. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned and was made Protestant

Bishop of Ely. It was to him that the masterful queen is said to have written the letter, which in any wise is truly characteristic of her, and shows that she at any rate did not regard her spiritual supremacy as a sinecure only.

"PROUD PRELATE,

"You know what you were before I made you; if you do not immediately comply with my request, by God, I will unfrock you!

"ELIZABETH."

Richard Marshall succeeded Cox as dean, and under him the unfortunate Cranmer was solemnly degraded somewhere outside the cathedral.

The visits of Elizabeth to Oxford were not unmixed evils: she was a lover of learning, and did much to foster its spirit. Her establishment at Christ Church of scholarships for Westminster School boys has been most felicitous in its results; many of the best men of the college have been Westminster boys. On both occasions the whole of the east side of the "Grand Quadrant" was vacated for her accommodation, and the college did its utmost to please and entertain her with plays in the hall and a sermon by the dean in the cathedral.

This example of the queen was followed by several royal personages. The first of these was Albertus à Lasco, the Palatine of Siradia, whom Elizabeth herself sent thither. He was "interteined" with strange fireworks in the great quadrangle, and a play in the hall in which appeared "a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, and wherein it hailed small confects, rained rose-water, and snew an artificiall kind of snow. . . ."

The V. Robert Sutton, who suffered martyrdom for the Catholic faith at Stafford in the year 1587, was M.A. of the college.

By the time that King Charles and his queen made their

visit to Christ Church in 1636, the students had become much more proficient in play-acting. Anthony Wood, who describes in detail a comedy entitled "Passions Calmed, or The Settling of the Floating Island," is careful to tell us that elaborate scenery with sky and clouds, a rolling sea and a floating island, churches and houses, rocks and trees, was used for the first time in England, and was all the invention of the scholars. This was under Dean Brian Duppa, a remarkable man and a great benefactor of the college. But the scholars had soon much sterner business in hand, for in the great quadrangle were drilled four hundred pledged to the king's cause, one hundred of whom were Christ Church men. During the civil wars, the king and his court were constantly at Christ Church, and in the year 1644 Parliament assembled in the hall.

But before that date, however, the Parliamentarians had sent Lord Saye and Sele, who, breaking open Dean Fell's lodgings, took away all the cóllege plate he could lay hands on, though as much as possible had been hidden away in the cellars and behind the wainscotting.

On the downfall of the monarchy, Samuel Fell, the dean, was thrown into prison, and his wife was treated with scant courtesy; for refusing to quit the lodgings at the instance of Cromwell's chancellor, she "had very ill language given her by him," and amidst a great rabble, had to be carried out into the quadrangle by the soldiers in a chair; several ladies who were with her were carried out in the same way, and her children on boards!

Of Dean Fell's resistance to the visitors we have already spoken. He was succeeded by Edward Reynolds, whom we have before mentioned as president of the commission; he had been postmaster and fellow of Merton, and was afterwards made Bishop of Norwich.

Very incongruous with their surroundings must the covenanting chaplains have appeared, with their wry, sour

faces, and their droning, puling tones, when the whole college was summoned to prayers and the word of God in the cathedral; though doubtless many of the "painted, idolatrous windows" had been hidden away or broken. But the Cromwellians had little sense of humour. Discipline was rigorously maintained, and there are several records of flogging; a Westminster boy was publicly whipped in the hall for an impudent speech in which he abused the *Censor morum*, and then sent to his father for a twelvemonth, with an admonition that he was not to return "without a testimonial of his civil and orderly carriage during the time of his absence."

But the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme with the Restoration, until the strong rule of Dean Fell (the son) brought it to the point of stable equilibrium again. The first dean appointed by Charles was George Morley, and he richly deserved it; for he had suffered deprivation of a canonry, and went into exile with his royal masters. A good story is told of him. Being asked: "What do the Arminians hold?" he replied: "All the best bishoprics and deaneries in England." Perhaps he was right. It was he who completed the great quadrangle, and constructed the fountain.

To Fell was given the ungracious task, at the command of the king, of expelling the philosopher Locke from his studentship for being a Whig; but the college recognises him as one of its greatest sons, and his cadaverous portrait hangs in the hall.

In 1663, Charles II. and his queen made a state visit to Oxford and were entertained at the deanery. His mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine, was the guest of Canon Gardiner, in his house near the meadows.

On the death of Dean Fell in 1686, King James II., using his undoubted right (for the office was a Crown appointment), nominated John Massey, a convert fellow of Merton, to that office. He was without protest duly installed in the

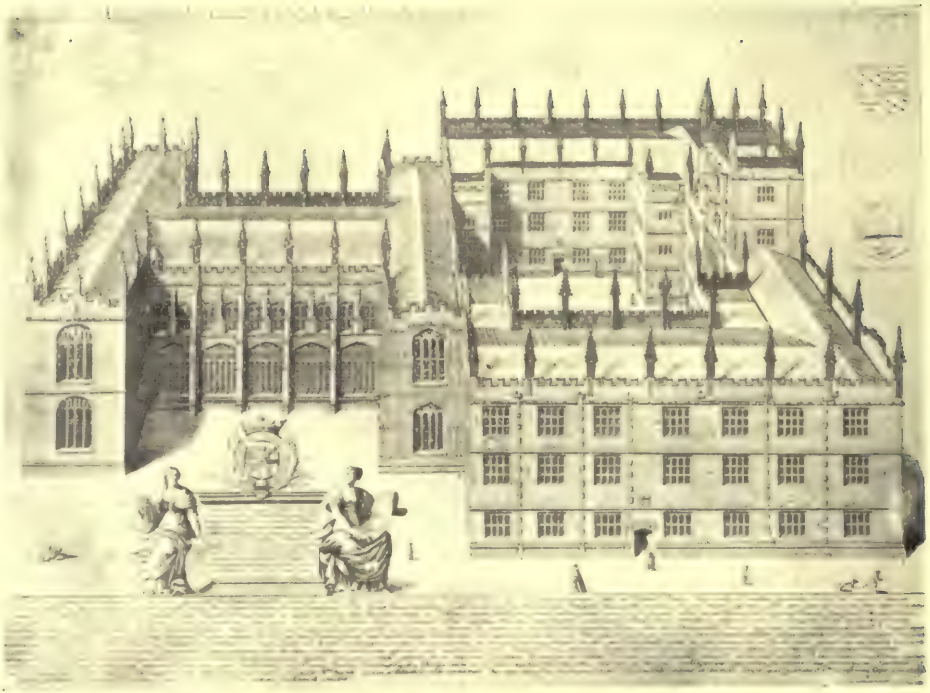

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.]

A Ground Plan of the Bodleian Library.

(From an old print.)

[*To face p.* 192.

A Ground Plan of Christ Church in King Charles II.'s time, showing Tom Tower as Wolsey left it.

[To face p. 198.

cathedral; but there was some demur and merriment among the young scholars, when the king's formal dispensations from the Church of England services were read out. The absurdity of royal supremacy in things spiritual became apparent. They were being hoisted with their own petard, with a vengeance!

The old refectory of Canterbury Hall was fitted up as a chapel, and a Jesuit father appointed chaplain. Everything was done in an orderly and legal manner; though the action of the king was, to say the least, indiscreet. All kinds of absurd rumours got afloat: the nation was in a panic.

Meanwhile the king's unnatural daughters were intriguing for his overthrow: the Princess Anne with her husband in England, her sister in Holland. In the fleet which bore the latter over to her native shore was Locke, the philosopher.

John Massey, the dean, succeeded in making good his escape to Paris, where he remained in the quiet exercises of his priestly duties till his death.

Christ Church reached its height of prosperity a hundred years later, under Dean Cyril Jackson, who was installed in 1783. Since that time it has been the home of a dignified, safe, moderately high Anglicanism. No wonder that it rejected Methodism. A portrait of John Wesley by Romney, however, now holds its place in the hall among the other college worthies.

Equally careful was Christ Church to reject Tractarianism, though Dr Pusey, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, was one of its chief exponents. Secure in his high position, and "haunted by no intellectual perplexities," he vigorously defended this new attitude of Anglicans. He certainly had dreams of reunion with Rome, and issued two "Eirenica." These were written in such a self-confident tone, that Newman could not forbear calling them "olive branches shot out of a catapult." A more lovable, and in some respects more able representative of this neo-Anglicanism was Henry Parry Liddon, who as

student of the House had sat at Pusey's feet and improved upon his doctrines. Canon Liddon was undoubtedly the greatest preacher whom the Anglican Church produced during the nineteenth century.

But perhaps it is in its great statesmen that Christ Church, during the past century, has been most renowned. Certainly such a list as the following would be difficult to find anywhere: George Canning, Lord Liverpool, Robert Peel, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, W. E. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery.

Nor must we forget John Ruskin, art-critic and lay preacher, foremost among our writers of prose, whose deep reverence for God in Nature adds a special charm to his vigorous and inimitable English. While, in a lighter vein, there is Charles L. Dodgson ("Lewis Carroll"), best known as the author of *Alice in Wonderland*. And among the masters of Greek, Deans Gaisford and Liddell will not be forgotten for many years to come.

14. Trinity College

That two colleges should have been founded during the short reign of Queen Mary, on the site of ruined religious houses, with funds supplied from the ecclesiastical spoliation of the preceding reigns, is an indication of what might have been hoped for had Catholics been left in the peaceable possession of their partially recovered rights and properties.

Durham College, the Benedictine "cell," on whose site Trinity gradually grew, has already been mentioned among Oxford religious institutions as having been founded by Bishop Hatfield of Durham, as a "College of Monks of Durham Studying at Oxford," in the thirteenth century. But the present college, though built within the same precincts, and using still some of the ancient buildings, can claim no sort of historic continuity with Durham College.

The founder of Trinity, Sir Thomas Pope, was an interest-

ing personality. A pious Catholic, yet trusted as a statesman by Elizabeth as well as by Queen Mary, he, with a safe conscience, succeeded in keeping his head in the latter queen's reign. But Elizabeth was no blind fanatic; she could spare Catholics when it served her purpose to do so. Consequently the religious test, it would appear, was never applied to Thomas Pope; or else he forestalled it by his premature death. He died in 1559.

It fell to him to announce to Blessed Thomas More that his execution was to take place the following morning. "Quiet yourself, good Mr Pope," said that imperturbable man, "and be not discomforted; for I trust that we shall one day in heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss eternally."

Born in the year 1507, the son of what in these days we should call a gentleman-farmer, Pope was educated at Banbury Grammar School and Eton. Afterwards, he was articled to the comptroller of the hanaper, and in 1532 was promoted to the court of chancery. On the suppression of the smaller religious houses, he was made treasurer of the "augmentation of the king's revenue" court, and by judicious, though not dishonest, contracts, "bought Church lands without money."

Queen Mary made him one of her privy council, and appointed him to reside as guardian in the house of the Princess Elizabeth, with whom he became friends. He was also on intimate terms with the great churchmen of the day; and in particular with Cardinal Pole, from whom he received much advice as regards his new college.

It has been suggested that his idea of founding a college at Oxford was conceived through his having been one of the executors of his friend, Lord Chancellor Audley, who established Magdalene College, Cambridge, from the buildings of a similar Benedictine house in that town; of which college, Pope and the other executors completed the statutes.

In the year 1553, he negotiated the purchase of the site and ruinous buildings of Durham College, and on May Day in the next year issued his statutes. He dedicated the college "to the honour of the Holy and undivided Trinity, and the glory of Almighty God, the Most High Creator; in satisfaction for his sins, and in thanksgiving for God's benefits; for the increase of the orthodox Faith and the Christian religion, and to the perpetual maintenance of poor scholars."

At the daily Mass all were to be present, on pain of being mulcted of their commons of that day; scholars who were late were to be deprived of their dinner or supper! On principal feasts, and on the anniversary of his exequies, the whole office of the day, with High Mass, etc., was to be duly solemnised by the president in presence of the whole college.

At Mass and at table, prayers were to be said for the founder, his wife, and their kinsfolk; and after Mass the chaplain was to pray for himself and for the others. Before getting into bed, each one was to kneel down and say privately: "*Libera nos, salva nos, justifica nos, O Beata Trinitas! Fiat misericordia Tua super nos.*" . . .

In brief, the statutes are mainly based upon those of Corpus Christi. The letters patent of Philip and Mary grant leave for a president, twelve fellows, eight scholars, and a free school at Hook Norton or any other convenient place.

The President was to be in priests' orders, and all the fellows were to proceed thereto in due course, or give up their fellowships. Those admitted to their D.D. degree were required to preach seven times a year in some important church; and once in the ten years at St Paul's Cross in London, or at the Hospital of St Mary. This regulation was evidently enforced to counteract the spread of heresy, as was also another by which the founder strictly forbade any member of the college to associate with a heretic, or even a suspected heretic or schismatic. For the first

offence the delinquent was to be deprived of his commons for a month; should he be convicted a second time, he is to be expelled without hope of ever being again admitted, lest, the disease creeping in, one sick sheep infect the whole flock.

A like sign of those changeful times may be read in the exhortation with which the pious founder concludes. Reminding them that, through the weakness of human nature, precious things come to be accounted vile, and noblest things abused, he earnestly entreats all to faithfully observe the statutes. The president, like a father, is to watch over the studies of the young men, to be aware of his responsibility before God, and to be severe against those who would violate his ordinances. The scholars are to pay respect and obedience to their ruler, to have a mutual charity among themselves, to be devout in their attendance at divine service, and to preserve the Catholic faith.

The statutes are signed by Pope's second wife, Lady Elizabeth Blount (whom he esteemed as foundress), as well as by himself. After his death, she bestowed her hand on Sir Hugh Poulet, a violent Protestant, but always maintained her interest in the college. Like her first husband, she was a devout Catholic, though not an aggressive one, and later, was actually informed against for recusancy.

Sir Thomas Pope was first buried with his first wife, Margaret, at Walbrook; but the foundress had his body removed to the chapel of the college, where she erected the present beautiful tomb to him and to herself. It is the only founder's tomb in Oxford. The founder left by will other properties to the college for the endowment of additional scholarships. He also left alms for the poor, and for the prisoners in Bocardo and the castle.

Some of the old monastic building remain still, and form part of the little quadrangle beyond the chapel. The present bursary with the common-room beneath, and the buttery,

which form the ends of the west side, represent the oldest portion. Between these originally stood the monk's refectory, which collapsed in the year 1618, when President Kettell began to construct cellars under it; the present hall was built on its site. Below the buttery is a fine old cellar, wrongly supposed to have been the refectory in Benedictine days. It was more probably put to the same use as at present, as the college plate-room and beer-cellar. Among the college plate is a fine silver-gilt chalice and paten, the gift of the founder, said to have formerly belonged to St Alban's Abbey, the suppression of which Pope personally conducted, and an equally antique ciborium, generally described as a "covered cup." The north side of the quadrangle stood until 1728. The east side was erected in 1417, and contains the library; but it has been much tinkered with, particularly as regards its windows, and in James I.'s reign, the cock-lofts were added. The president's lodgings were at the north end of it, and a very picturesque gable-end may be seen from the college garden.

The present chapel, forming the south side of this quadrangle, and the north-west of the front quadrangle (if quadrangle it may be called), was erected in 1694 from designs supposed to have been made by Dean Aldrich, and on the site of the former chapel which dated from 1406. The west-end screen and the panelling behind the communion table are in cedar, and the inimitable carving is by Grinling Gibbons. Otherwise, there is nothing remarkable about the building: the meaningless figures which stand on the corners of the squat tower are singularly out of place. In the old chapel, besides the high altar were two others, over which were painted St Catharine, and the Taking Down from the Cross. When, in 1642, Lord Saye and Sele came by order of Parliament to see what new popery was to be found in the college, President Kettell saved them by remarking: "Truly, my Lord, we regard them no more than a dirty dish-clout"; it is likely that he spoke

the truth, for later on they were daubed over with green paint.

The Garden Quadrangle which faces the long lawns was erected by Wren, and is remarkable as being the first specimen in Oxford of the French Renaissance style of architecture; but its character has been changed by the destruction of its attics, and the modernising of its windows.

The present front of the college was thrown open to the Broad in 1737, and the fine iron gates erected; before this time it was hardly visible, having only a narrow entrance between two high walls. The president's lodgings, standing in a line with the chapel, and the imposing buildings on the east, were erected from 1883 to 1887; but the beautiful lime-avenue beyond was planted much earlier, in the eighteenth century.

The "cottages," of which the porter's lodge is one, are of greater antiquity than any other building now standing, and were formerly private hostels or halls. The pretty gabled building to the east of these, with its end on the Broad, called Kettell Hall after the president who built it, is now occupied by commoners. It was built on the site of one of the many local halls, called Peryluse or Perilous Hall, which, it is interesting to know, was one of the first purchases of Adam de Brome; and had circumstances been favourable Oriel might have stood somewhere near. Samuel Johnson, when collecting materials for his dictionary, lived here as, it is said, the guest of the poet Warton. Thomas Warton, elected fellow in 1752, was made Professor of Poetry four years later, and became afterwards poet-laureate.

As a Catholic college, Trinity never had a career, for as soon as it was fairly planted, Elizabeth's commissioners came and rode rough-shod through the statutes. Thomas Slythurst, the first President, and several of the fellows were deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and Slythurst is said to have died in the Tower. Instead of "priests" there were to be "chaplains," and instead of "Masses," "prayers."

Small wonder that the exodus thus begun went on. Among the more notable men who thus found themselves bound to leave were the following:—

Christopher Wharton, a fellow, who fled to Douai, but returned to England to labour as a priest. After many years he was caught, condemned, and cruelly executed at York in 1600. Richard Blount, a fellow for a short time, was the nephew of the foundress. He was ordained priest in 1589 at Rome, and, returning to England, entered the Society of Jesus seven years later. Appointed superior of the English missions, the Society so prospered under his able government that from a handful of nineteen, four of whom were in chains, it increased to nearly two hundred; and so the mission was raised into a province, which he ruled as provincial for fifteen years. He had many marvellous escapes during the heat of the persecution, died in a good old age in London on 13th May 1638, and was buried in the private chapel of Queen Henrietta Maria, in Somerset House.

Thomas Forde was elected fellow in 1565. During one of the disputations in the college, one of the other fellows, thinking to please the audience, began to malign the Pope, whereupon Forde warmly defended His Holiness. Later on, he fled to Douai, where he took his degree in divinity in 1574, and was ordained priest. Returning to England, he lived mostly in Oxfordshire; but so lovable was his character that his former companions would never inform against him. He was, however, arrested with Father Campion at Lyford, thrown into the Tower, and with several companions, martyred at Tyburn in May 1582, protesting his innocence of crime, though he denied the queen's supremacy in things divine. No fewer than five others from Trinity gave their lives in the same cause: James Bell (martyred 1584); Edward Burden (martyred 1588); Alexander Rawlins (martyred 1595); Robert Sutton (martyred 1587); and William Spencer, fellow (martyred 1589).

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

Rear of a Monastic building, now the Library of Trinity College. From the President's Garden.

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The East Gateway of Trinity College, Parks Road.

[*Between pp. 200 and 201.*

Richard Smith, apparently a commoner only, left Oxford to become a Catholic, studied in Rome, was ordained priest and appointed vicar-apostolic of Great Britain, being consecrated as bishop titular of Chalcedon. He was proclaimed by the government, and retired to Paris, where he lived under the protection of Cardinal Richelieu until his death in the year 1655.

Sir George Calvert came to the college as a commoner in 1594, and is reported as being a good scholar. He was principal secretary of state in 1619, having served under Sir Robert Cecil. He represented Yorkshire and afterwards the university. He declared himself a Catholic in 1625, and retired from public life, having been raised to the (Irish) peerage as Lord Baltimore. He took a leading part in founding the colony of Maryland, the principal object of this undertaking being to find a country where Catholics might enjoy liberty of conscience.

Perhaps the greatest of the presidents of Trinity was Ralph Kettell, elected as such in the year 1599: he was certainly the most eccentric and unconventional one. Says one: "If you had to do with him, taking him for a foole, you would have found in him great subtilty and reach: *e contra*, if you treated with him as a wise man, you would have mistaken him for a foole."

His memory will always survive in Kettell Hall and in innumerable bulls and amusing stories. He took a very fatherly interest in the "boyes," and would watch over them at lectures, bringing in with him an hour glass. He was "irreconcileable" to long hair, would bring "a paire of cizars in his muffe, and woe be to them that sat on the outside of the table!" On one occasion "he cutt Mr Radford's haire with the knife that chips the bread on the buttery-hatch, and then he sang,

'And was not Grim the collier finely trimm'd?
Tonedi, Tonedi.'

'Mr Lydall,' sayd he, 'how do you decline *tondeo? Tondeo, tondes, tonedi?*'" He was forty-four years president, and lived to see Oxford garrisoned to repel the Parliamentarians. "It much grieved him that was wont to be absolute in the college, to be affronted and disrespected by rude soldiers." When the grove became the rendezvous of the nobility and gentry, he would "nettle" the "Jack Lords" that went in, standing at the entrance thereto. He proved himself quite a match for the court ladies who came into the chapel "halfe-dress'd like angells," bidding one of them who "would have a frolick to make a visit to the president," to "begone for a verie woman!"

One of the greatest men during his office was Gilbert Sheldon, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and whose name is immortalised in the theatre that ornaments the Broad. Trinity was thoroughly loyal to the throne, and furnished a great number of cavalier officers; but it also educated Henry Ireton and Edmund Ludlow. William Chillingworth also, was a fellow of the college. A convert to Catholicism, of more than doubtful sincerity, he soon forsook the Church, and wrote a book entitled *Religion of Protestants*, wherein, said Hobbes, he showed himself "like some lusty fighters that will give a damnable back-blow, now and then, on their owne party." It seems probable that at heart he was a Socinian, disbelieving in the divinity of Christ.

James Harrington deserves a passing notice as a royalist in practice but a democrat in theory, whose political opinions come down to us in a remarkable book of its kind, *Oceana;* the book was publicly burnt at the time of the Restoration, and brought disgrace and imprisonment on its author.

Oxford tendered its surrender to Fairfax through the governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, a Trinity man; and a Trinity man, one John Packer, was one of the commissioners. The president, Hannibal Potter, was "outed" with several fellows for "high contempt" and non-surrender, and Josias

Howe, the bursar, "a very great cavalier and loyalist," decamped with the college papers and accounts.

Trinity recovered itself from the ravages of Cavalier and Parliamentarian alike, under the able administration of Ralph Bathurst, elected president in 1664. He was the fifth of thirteen sons, six of whom lost their lives in the king's cause. Owing to the uncertainty of the times, he took to the "study of physick" in order that, "in spite of the iniquity of the times (he) might get a tolerable livelihood." He practised in Oxford, and enjoyed the reputation of having resuscitated a woman after she had been hanged. It is said also that he used to carry a whip with which he would playfully drive men to their studies.

During the period of stagnation which began with the eighteenth century at Trinity as elsewhere, the college produced William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as also Walter Savage Landor, the "mad Jacobin," the first undergraduate who had the courage to break through conventionality and wear his hair without powder! He was sent down, either for firing a volley at the shutters of a detested Tory opposite, or for denying that he had done so.

The nineteenth century marked the turn of the tide at Trinity. Newman, as a freshman in 1817, could write to his mother: "If anyone wishes to study much, I believe that there can be no college that will encourage him more than Trinity. It is wishing to rise in the University, and is rising fast. The scholarships were formerly open only to members of the college; last year, for the first time, they were thrown open to the whole University. In discipline it has become one of the strictest of the colleges. There are lamentations in every corner of the increasing rigour; it is laughable, but it is delightful to hear the groans of the oppressed."

No wonder then that Sir Richard Burton was sent down for calling a man out for daring to laugh in his face. The cause would seem to have been his "splendid moustache," which the college authorities had in vain implored him to

remove. He would listen to Newman's sermons, though he disdained to bestow a thought on any others; and when, after a wild adventurous life he lay dying, the old Church received him into her maternal embrace.

Trinity generously recognised Newman as a son in 1878, by making him an honorary fellow; in 1880, when he paid what proved to be his farewell visit, he was the guest of the president, John Percival, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and was invited to hold a reception in the hall. His portrait there is a copy of the one by Ouless, hanging in the common-room of Oriel, and was painted by the president's daughter when a girl of sixteen.

15. St John's College

"To the praise and honour of God, the Blessed Virgin His Mother, and St John the Baptist," so ran the letters patent of Philip and Mary which gave Thomas White, Knight, and Alderman of London, the faculty "to erect and found a college in Oxford for the learning of the sciences of holy divinity, philosophy, and good arts, to be called St John Baptist College in the University of Oxford."

There were to be a president, thirty graduate or non-graduate scholars, three chaplains who should be priests, three clerks, and six choristers. The letters are dated the 1st of May 1555, that is two months after those of Trinity. The statutes, drawn up later, are based upon those of Wykeham: a sufficient indication of the mind and religious convictions of the founder.

Sir Thomas White was a prosperous merchant-tailor who piously spent his money in public benefactions, and died comparatively poor. So modest was he that he had to be committed to Newgate before he could be induced to take civic honours, but courageous enough later, when lord mayor, to take prompt and decisive measures in quelling the Wyatt rebellion in 1554, and thus save a constitution and a throne.

The site of the college is said to have been fixed upon in accordance with a dream. The founder was to find two trees (or three) growing from the same root. He searched Cambridge in vain; but riding by chance by the then desolated buildings of St Bernard's College in St Giles, his horse stopped, and there before him was the tree of his dream. The college, it will be remembered, had been given over to Christ Church by King Henry VIII. on the suppression of Rewley Abbey, by which it was established and to which it belonged; and long were the negotiations with the dean before White secured it in fee simple, Christ Church wishing to appoint the head, and to have more control over the management of the new foundation than the founder thought good. The tower gateway built by Chichele still stands, together with the front of the quadrangle; the weather-beaten statue of St Bernard still looks down from its niche over the entrance: a reminder of the glories of ancient days. The hall, once the monks'' refectory, and the chapel are on the left as one enters the college, forming the north side of the quadrangle.

The hall was built by the monks in the year 1502, but has been much renovated; the chapel, with its three altars, later. The latter from time to time has almost been rebuilt; and in 1662, President Baylie built himself a mortuary chapel to the north of the high altar. In 1678 the beautiful glass of the east window was removed, as well as the tracery of the others, so that there is now nothing to offend the most puritanical taste. In 1596 the Library was added, extending in a line beyond the south side of the original quadrangle. When in 1631 another quadrangle was added to the college, it was incorporated in it as its southern portion.

To the splendid munificence of Laud, the Canterbury Quadrangle of 1631 owes its existence, and the design of it is attributed to Inigo Jones. The president's lodgings lie between the two quadrangles, the old library being extended

along the east. The garden front, that is its eastern side, is, oddly enough, in a different style of architecture from the quadrangle. The quadrangle is Renaissance, while the garden front is late Gothic.

The statues within this quadrangle represent King Charles I. and his queen, who graciously opened these new buildings. They are in bronze by Hubert le Sueur, and during the rebellion were taken down to be sold; as they were hollow no one would buy them, and so they were put up again.

The emblematical figures on the west represent the three theological virtues, the four cardinal virtues and religion: those on the east, the arts and sciences.

The new block of buildings to the north of the old tower, and facing St Giles', was erected in 1900.

The college possesses a collection of ancient vestments or portions of vestments, which may be seen in the library, carefully preserved with Laud's skull-cap, etc. The college also retains a souvenir of the Cromwellian invasion of Oxford in the shape of a cannon ball that was lodged in the tower, without, however, doing any great damage.

Sir Thomas White seems to have been one of those pious men, so common in the theological upheaval of his day, who, while admitting fully the prerogatives of the Holy See, felt themselves at liberty, for the time being, to submit to the tyrannical demands of those in power. Consequently, when his second president, William Elye, was deprived for maintaining the supremacy of the Pope, he had no difficulty in appointing William Stock, who presumably would bend to the storm. However, he also thought better of it, and resigned in a year's time in order to avoid a humiliation like his predecessor's. That he was reinstated as principal of Gloucester Hall, another foundation of White (of which more in the proper place), affords another proof of the founder's real mind.

The founder died before his loyalty to the Holy See was put to the crucial test; but not before he had drawn up his

statutes. Having been greatly concerned in the founding of the Merchant Taylors' School, it was natural that he should connect it with his foundation at Oxford by scholarships: a connection which has always been maintained, and with the happiest results. He was buried, according to his desire, in the chapel of the college, and Edmund Campion was appointed to preach the panegyric. Then the queen's commissioners visited Oxford, and the storm broke upon the college.

Among the first to flee the threatened persecution was Gregory Martin, one of White's original scholars, who proceeded to his M.A. degree in the year 1564. In order to practise his religion, though in private, he became the tutor of the great Duke of Norfolk's children, and kept alive the exercise of Catholic piety in this family. One of the fellows of St John's gave testimony to the erudition of Martin, in a complimentary speech he made to the duke, who was paying a visit to the college; "*Habes*," said he, "*illustrissime Dux, Hebræum nostrum, Græcum nostrum, Poetam nostrum, decus et gloriam nostram.*" Martin left the duke's service and went to Dr Allen at Douai, where he pursued his studies and took his D.D. degree in 1575. He spent the remainder of his short life in defending Catholic doctrine with his pen, and in labouring at that monumental work, the Douai Bible, of which he was the chief translator.

He was joined a few years after by another scholar equally brilliant and even more famous, Edmund Campion, who eventually entered the Society of Jesus in the year 1573. We have already made mention of this remarkable man, whose story belongs as much to the University as to his own college.

A Christ's Hospital boy, he was admitted to St John's by the founder, whose funeral oration, as we have seen, he preached in Latin before the University in 1566. He was appointed to make the public address to the queen on one of her visits to Oxford, and pronounced by Lord Burghley one of the "diamonds of England." A brilliant prospect was

opening before him, to the delusive hopes of which he evidently, for a time, bent his mind; for he allowed himself to receive deacon's orders from Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester. Just before the promulgation of Pope Pius V.'s Bull against Elizabeth, Campion had retired to Dublin, where he wrote his *History of Ireland*. But it was now widely surmised that he intended to seek reconciliation with the Holy See, and so to escape arrest, he finally fled to Douai in the disguise of a servant of the Earl of Kildare. After professing rhetoric and philosophy at Prague, he was sent with Father Parsons to England: they were the first Jesuit missioners to this country. His career, marked with great success, was, however, a short one. He was betrayed by an apostate while resting on his journey at Lyford Grange, near Oxford, seized and carried to London in mock triumph. After most brutal tortures, borne with indomitable courage and good humour, he was condemned for being a priest contrary to the law, and was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on 1st December 1581.

Three other men of St John's followed Campion to martyrdom rather than submit to a state-made religion: Blessed Cuthbert Mayne had gone before. Cuthbert Mayne, a Devonshire man, was ordained a clergyman at the early age of eighteen, in order to secure a family living. Meanwhile he entered at St Alban's Hall and graduated. He was shortly after appointed chaplain at St John's, and proceeded to his M.A. degree. After several years, he was moved by the example of Martin and Campion, now beyond the seas, to forego his worldly prospects, and like them to sacrifice all for the sake of the faith. One of these fell into the hands of the Bishop of London, who sent pursuivants after him; he, however, escaped to Douai, where he studied for his doctor's degree and was ordained priest. Dr Allen sent him back to England along with another future martyr, John Payne. He was taken very soon after he had landed, and brought

Photo.: Rainer & Co.

Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J.

(After the portrait at the Gesù in Rome.)

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before the Bishop of Exeter, who having examined him, "confessed that he was learned and had gathered very good notes in his book; but no favour he showed him." He was taken to Launceston and lodged in prison until his trial. He was condemned as being a Catholic priest and an enemy of the queen's religion; for, though several accusations were made against him, none of them could be proved, and the judge declared "that where plain proofs were wanting, strong presumptions ought to take place." He suffered in 1577.

Edward Strancham took his degree at St John's in 1575. Returning to England from Rheims, he worked for several years on the mission; but after many hair-breadth escapes was caught while visiting the prisons to console and encourage Catholics. After an eloquent defence, which won even the admiration of heretics, he suffered at Tyburn in 1586.

William Hartley was a chaplain at St John's, but was removed for his Catholic sympathies by President Tobie Matthew, who afterwards, as Archbishop of York, signalised himself in the persecution of the Catholics. Hartley went to Rheims, and returning to work as a priest, was apprehended and condemned to perpetual exile. His zeal brought him back to England. He was apprehended a second time, and suffered martyrdom in London in 1588.

The martyrdom of John Roberts was a little later. He became a Benedictine, and laboured for years on the dangerous English mission. Four times was he apprehended and committed to prison; but no evidence of any sort being forthcoming, he was simply banished, only to return with greater zest to his apostolic work. At length he was caught in the very act of celebrating Mass and hurried off in his vestments to a dark dungeon. At his trial he boldly declared himself a son of that Augustine who brought the gospel to these shores. He was martyred at Tyburn in 1610, being dragged to the place of execution on a hurdle with Thomas Somers. He exhorted the crowd to allow him to convert them from heresy, as St

Augustine had delivered them from paganism. When the executioner held up his heart, according to the custom, saying: "This is the heart of a traitor," not a single person answered "Long live the king," so much had the evident heroism of the martyr impressed them.

These martyrs, to say nothing of many other men of St John's who abandoned all their prospects in this world rather than make shipwreck of their faith, are an irrefutable disproof of the assertion, often made in these days, that St John's College is a standing witness to the continuity of the Church of England. So much has been made of the so-called martyrdom of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer in books about Oxford, that we may be pardoned for adding these few details regarding the martyrdom of such men as these, the very salt of the University.

Undoubtedly the greatest president St John's has ever seen was William Laud, who came up as a commoner in 1589, and was afterwards Reading scholar, having been born in that town, and thus being a fellow townsman of the founder. He had as his chum or chamber-fellow, John Jones, who later became a Benedictine, and was known to the world as Dom Leander of St Martin. Born in the national Church, he never seemed to have had any misgivings as to his position, and no inkling of anything greater: of a Church universal, and wholly divine in its organisation as well as in its teaching. Yet, single-handed almost, he combated Calvinism, which in his day had spread throughout Elizabeth's establishment like a gangrene. No wonder then that he was dubbed "a mongrel compound of Protestant and Papist," and bidden "to get himself to the other heaven"—wherever that might be.

It was when Laud was chancellor of the University that he brought the king, the queen, the Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, mainly to open and inaugurate his new buildings at St John's. The entertainment was planned on a very princely scale, and cost the archbishop £2666; but the

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The old Cistercian Front of St John's College. A figure of St Bernard is in the high niche.

[*To face p.* 211.

king was pleased, and the archbishop "thanked God that he had the happiness that all things were in verie good order, and that no man went out of the gates" (of St John's College, in the new library of which the royal party was banqueted), "courtier or other, but contented: which was a happiness quite beyond expectation." According to the poet of the occasion,

> "The ladies watered 'bout the mouth to see
> And tast so sweet an Universitie."

St John's was one of the first to vote its plate, or most of it, to the king's service; with the earnest request, however, that some of it might be returned in the shape of coin "to answer ye debts contracted for the new building." There is no account of this request being granted.

Laud bequeathed much of his property to the college of which, on account of his splendid benefactions, he is considered second founder; but of this, the college received little or nothing. His body was removed to the chapel in 1663, eighteen years after his execution.

There is a story of an amusing altercation between President Baylie, who, by the way, was married to Laud's niece, and Sir William Cobbe, who came in the name of the Parliament to expel him. As soon as the latter entered the quadrangle, the president stepped up to him and gave him a compliment; but he did it with such resolution, coming up to his very nose, that the visitor, somewhat daunted, drew back. In the course of his remarks Baylie chanced to say, "By my faith," whereupon Sir William, a precise knight, exclaimed, "Blasphemy, horrid blasphemy! Doctor, you have blasphemed." "In what?" "In swearing by your faith." "Admitting that I did, where, I pray, lays the blasphemy?" "In this," replied Sir William, "for that you have sworn by that which is none of your own, that is, your faith." "How? By your good leave, Sir William, my faith is mine own; and if you mean to be saved, you must get a faith of your own. It

will be a hard matter for you to live by the faith of another." "Yea, your faith is none of your own, it is the free gift of God," said the visitor. "It is so much the more mine own," retorted Baylie, "for what is freer than a gift? indeed, Sir William, you are quite beside the cushion." "I confess I am no doctor," admitted the discomfited Cobbe. "True, nor physician," retorted the president.

Baylie made mention of his conscience, but Cobbe took him up sharply, and told him that "the parliament must be judge of his conscience." And so, after all, Cobbe got the best of it.

St John's, as landlord of the manor of Walton, formerly belonging to Godstow Abbey, but acquired by the college as early as the year 1573, is associated with one of the oldest surviving fairs of England, that of St Giles, which takes place outside the college in the broad thoroughfare of St Giles, on the Monday and Tuesday within the octave of the Saint's Feast, celebrated on 1st September.

The gardens of the college, three acres in extent, are considered to be the most beautiful in Oxford. Herein are the haunts of many birds: owls and jackdaws, wood-pigeons and stock-doves, thrushes and blackbirds, chaffinches, bull-finches, and linnets, nut-hatches and tree-creepers, hedge-sparrows, robins, wrens, fly-catchers and willow-warblers, chiffchaffs and blackcaps; and sometimes the king of songsters himself melodiously breaks the deepening silence of the summer evening.

16. Jesus College

Hugh Ap Rice (or Rees, and commonly called Hugh Price), an Oxford graduate, the first prebendary of Rochester and treasurer of St David's, was a Welshman, and having no children, desired, it would appear, to found a college for his own countrymen, then scattered in various halls and colleges. He succeeded in purchasing White Hall and several small

parcels of ground and smaller halls between the Turl (then Cheyney Lane) and Ship Street (then Somnore Lane), and then obtained the necessary charter from the queen. But in the letters patent, dated 27th June 1571, the queen styles herself the founder, and makes no mention of Welsh students. "Jhesus College wythin the Citie and Universitie of Oxforth, of Queene Elizabethe's fundacion," thus the title runs, and succeeding royal charters of James and George II. use the same form.

However, he was called "founder" in the original inscription beneath his portrait, and as such will always be really regarded; also, in his will he bequeathes books, etc., to the college, "conditionally that (he) may remayn founder of the same college." Not even a queen can alter the past.

Although the founder was thwarted by the queen in his original scheme of providing, as we may suppose, for his own countrymen, yet all the principals of the college up to the present have been Welshmen, and in consequence most of the fellows and scholars. He died without drawing up statutes, and there was so much delay in the matter on the part of the commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the principal and fellows were accused of wishing to rule without, in order to have the more freedom. Statutes were eventually issued by the seventh principal, Sir Eubule Thelwall, and were based upon those of Brasenose. Though thoroughly Protestant in their conception, they are not offensively so. The object of the college, as stated in the original charter, is to promote the study of sacred theology, to uphold the verity of the Christian religion, to combat unlawful enormities and abuses, and defend it against the malignant and pestilential impieties of heretics. None, however, are specifically held up for vituperation.

There were to be morning and evening prayers in the chapel every day, at which all were to be present; and once in fifteen days theological disputations in the same place. The

younger members were to attend every Thursday morning at six o'clock; instructions given by the catechist on the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles. Every Saturday at one o'clock there was to be a scrutiny of faults in the hall; and on Sundays the whole college, with the principal, was to attend the University sermons. Masters of Arts were expected to proceed to the degree of B.D., and in due course to their doctorate.

The college, as it now stands, may be described as compact and picturesque, though small. The founder began building at the north of the present gate, carrying on the line as far as White Hall, where at first the students lodged. The gate tower, however, was not erected until 1856, when this east side was "restored." Griffith Powel, elected Principal in 1613, collected money with which he pulled down White Hall and completed the south side of the quadrangle, building the hall, kitchen, and buttery also, to form the west wing; the principal's lodgings, however, were erected later by Thelwall. This generous benefactor, "a man of wealth, influence, and patriotism," was elected Principal in 1621; he completed the pretty Gothic chapel, and built the library to the west of the hall and in a line with his lodgings. The far quadrangle was not completed till the year 1713, when the library was rebuilt.

In the hall is a full-length portrait of Queen Elizabeth, and below, a small one, attributed to Holbein, of Hugh Ap Rice. There is also a full-length portrait by Vandyck of Charles I., who founded a Jersey scholarship to counteract the Calvinism there; and one by Lely of Charles II., who proved himself a benefactor by appropriating for the college the rectory of Bedgeworth, formerly belonging to the monastery of Usk.

We may say without offence that the college has never figured large in Oxford, though it has furnished Wales with several eminent bishops and divines; and at least one reformer in the person of Thomas Charles of Bala, the founder of Welsh Methodism.

The college suffered much during the civil wars, Dr Mansell, the principal (and perhaps the greatest the college has ever had), being a hot Royalist. The college was "dismantled into part of a garrison," and only eight members remained. The buildings were much out of repair, "by the negligence of soldiers, courtiers, and others that lay on them." Two of the king's officers, Sir Edward Stradling, and Lord Grandison, who was wounded in the taking of Bristol, died here and were buried in the chapel. Needless to say, Mansell was ejected by Cromwell's visitors, though "he published his non-submission with that excellent mixture of modesty and courage, as made his visitors . . . openly to bemoan the difficulty of the times that forced them to turn out a person in his life and conduct unblameable." . . . All the fellows, except two, followed their principal's example and were deprived.

On the Restoration, Dr Mansell was elected for the third time principal, in spite of his modest protestations. So great was the esteem in which he was held even by his political enemies, that he was allowed to return to Oxford, and lived in Holywell, and afterwards in the college itself, "near the stoney staires near the gate . . ." and occupied himself with "prayer within doors, and charity without."

One of the most eminent men of this college was Henry Vaughan, the poet, called the Silurist from having been born in Siluria, *i.e.*, South Wales. Another notable member was Edward Lhuyd, a famous Celtic scholar and also a great naturalist. He wrote a monumental work called *Lithophylacei Britannia Ichnographia.*

In 1747, Dr Humphrey Owen, afterwards principal, was elected Bodley's librarian, and, as was natural, Welshmen staffed the library more or less until the year 1813, "not with an unmixed advantage to the library." An undergraduate coming to the door and finding it shut, affixed on it the text in the original Greek: "Woe to you because you have taken

away the key of knowledge: you yourselves have not entered in, and those who were entering in, you have hindered."

Among the worthies of the college we must not omit to mention the historian, John Richard Green, who came up on an English scholarship in 1855, but whose literary career began after he had left the college. Green's *Short History of the English People* has become a household word. The college elected him to an honorary fellowship in recognition of his literary merit.

17. Wadham College

Nicholas Wadham with Dorothy his wife, having no children of their own, determined, like Hugh Ap Rice, to found a college in Oxford. He was the Squire of Merifield, near Ilminster in Somerset, and a former alumnus of Corpus Christi, on the statutes of which college he based his own.

On the parcel of ground sanctified by the prayers and Masses of the Austin Friars, without the Smyth Gate, they found a suitable site; and after much negotiation with the city, into whose hands it had eventually come, they secured it for the sum of £600. The friars' Church, one of the glories of Oxford, together with the monastic buildings, had disappeared, the stones having been sold to various buyers and carted away.

Wadham died before a new stone was laid; but he left directions to his nephew, Sir John Wyndham, and to his wife, who proved a most capable executrix, though seventy-five years of age at the time of his death.

According to the founder's directions, the warden and the fellows were to remain unmarried; the fellows were, however, not bound to take holy orders; but "every man was left free to profess what he liked, as it should please God to direct him." Moreover, they were not to live in the college all their lives "like idle drones," but were to "put themselves into the world, whereby others might grow up under them. . . ."

The term of a fellowship was finally fixed at eighteen years; it is an indication of an important transition in the character of the University: Oxford was becoming less and less a place of leisured study and research, and more and more of an intellectual training-ground for the great world outside. In matters of discipline, however, Wadham did not break away from the old traditions: scholars had to attend prayers in chapel twice a day, were bound to speak Latin in college, were not allowed to leave the precincts alone except to attend a lecture, were corporally punished for their faults, must wear black clothes and square caps always. But they were permitted to play cards (a game prohibited under severe penalties in all previous colleges), though at reasonable hours and for moderate stakes; but shooting-engines, animals, and birds of the chase, they were still forbidden. The students were forbidden to allow their hair to grow as far as their shoulders, nor were they to have it clipped too short; no one residing in the college was allowed to wear a beard.

Dorothy Wadham lost no time in realising her husband's wishes. The foundation stone of the new buildings was laid in July 1610, and in less than four years the whole college, substantially the same as we see it to-day, was completed. The front quadrangle, in its simple Gothic style of architecture, will compare favourably with any other in Oxford: the quiet, unpretentious dignity of the frontage, with its embattled gateway tower, chimneys, and gable ends, is unsurpassed.

The chapel, like that of Merton, is T-shaped; that is, there are chancel and transepts, but no nave. The transepts form the northern end of the east side of the quadrangle; the chancel juts out eastwards. The library, and the entrance to the hall which runs parallel to the chapel, complete the east side, the arrangement of the statues of the king and founders giving it somewhat the appearance of Oriel. It is interesting to note that while the windows of the ante-chapel correspond with those of the hall in being Jacobean Gothic, those of the chancel

are like pure perpendicular work of the fifteenth century.[1] The altar is that of Ilminster Church, before which, in happier days, the founder may well have heard Mass: it was secured for the college in 1889, when it was turned out of its proper place. The glass is the original work of Bernard Van Ling, and was actually manufactured in the college grounds. The designs of the east window are said to have been copied from a book of *Meditations on the Gospel*, published at Antwerp in 1595 by Father Natalis, S.J., and now in the library.

The hall is one of the finest in Oxford, Christ Church and New College alone being larger. Originally it was heated, as all the halls were, by a brazier in the centre, the smoke escaping through the louvre above. This was removed in 1797: the last of the kind to vanish in Oxford.

The Warden's lodgings are on the north of the quadrangle; attached are extensive park-gardens, than which are none more beautiful in Oxford. They were acquired later. On the south of the quadrangle are certain buildings converted into chambers in 1875, which, with the central grass-plot, are dignified by the name of the Back Quadrangle. It is suggested that the stable of the King's Arms adjacent, or a portion of them, may be remains of the friars' buildings.

The greatest of Wadham's earliest men was Robert Blake, who graduated in 1618, and who after vainly trying to obtain a fellowship in some college or other, by a happy fortune, took to the sea. His younger brother held a fellowship here for twenty years.

The next notable man was Carew Ralegh, entered in the register as *fortissimi doctissimi equitis Gualteri Raligh filius:* a guarded comment on his father's judicial murder. He was banished from the court for being so like, 'tis said, his father's ghost! However, he served the next king in the civil war, and afterwards helped to restore the monarchy.

1 See Massé, *Oxford*, p. 66. These windows are often taken, by error, to be old work.

To the king, the college proved itself equally loyal, and "loaned its plate to the extent of about 123 lbs. at 5s. 6d. an oz." Of course, like the rest of the colleges, it lost both loan and interest.

John Pitts, the warden, nine fellows, and nine scholars refused to submit to the Parliamentary commission and were ejected. Cromwell's brother-in-law, John Wilkins, was made the next warden, and proved himself a capable man under whom the college flourished. During his reign the following notable men matriculated: Christopher Wren, afterwards fellow of All Souls, Walter Pope, Richard Napier, and several who afterwards became Anglican bishops: Sprat of Rochester, Ironside of Hereford, Samuel Parker of Oxford, and Lloyd of St Asaph, one of the seven who was sent to the Tower for declining to publish the king's Declaration of Indulgence. It was under Wilkins that the Royal Society had its beginning. The group of eminent men who were afterwards incorporated into that distinguished body héld their first meeting at Oxford.

Doubtless Wadham suffered as much as any other college from the evils that attended the Restoration; still, it furnished four original members of the Oxford Chemical Society, one of whom, Robert Pitt, was the most eminent. He matriculated in 1669, and was the author of *The Craft and Fraud of Physic Exposed*, which, as might be expected, brought him into trouble.

After the Revolution, Wadham became Whig in politics, and Low Church in theology. The well-known epigram, directed against Cambridge, of Joseph Trapp, fellow of Wadham in 1703, and the first Oxford Professor of Poetry, may well be quoted here:—

> "King George observing with judicious eyes
> The state of both his Universities,
> To Oxford sent a troop of horse; and why?
> That learned body wanted loyalty.
> To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
> How much that loyal body wanted learning."

The epigram is perhaps beaten by the retort of Sir William Browne:—

> "The king to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
> For Tories own no argument but force;
> With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
> For Whigs admit no force but argument."

Wadham cannot be said to have been fortunate in the men who represented the college as vice-chancellor. It was John Wills, Warden in 1783, and vice-chancellor in 1792, who prohibited the first Oxford Scientific Society. After carefully inspecting the rules, he sent his prohibition in the form of a letter inimitable in its illiberalism: "There does not appear," he wrote, "to be anything in these laws subversive of academic discipline, or contrary to the statutes of the University; but, as it is impossible to predict how they may operate . . . I am compelled, in the exercise of my magisterial authority as vice-chancellor, to interdict your meeting in the manner proposed."

Benjamin Parsons Symons, warden from 1831 to 1871, was a prominent representative of evangelicalism during the Tractarian movement. It is said that he altered the time of the evening service in the chapel to 4 P.M., in order to prevent his men attending Newman's parochial sermons; and would lecture on the Thirty-nine Articles at noon on a Sunday, to prevent Wadhamites taking a long Sunday walk. He was greatly assisted in his indefatigable efforts to imbue the minds of the young men with this new cult, by his wife, who among other innocent methods of attracting the unwary, held what were irreverently called "Tea and Hassock Meetings" in the drawing-room. This particular kind of devotion spread rapidly among those who gloried in being evangelicals, and perhaps survives still. It was he who, as vice-chancellor, inaugurated the proceedings which terminated in the condemnation of Tract XC., and the degradation of William George Ward, fellow of Balliol.

Feeling ran high on that day; and it is said that, notwithstanding his office, Dr Symons was greeted with hisses and snowballs as he left the Sheldonian after the condemnation of Ward.

But Wadham, which thus officially condemned tractarianism, fostered the positivism of Auguste Comte. Richard Congreve, who left the Church of England to preach the Religion of Humanity, Frederick Harrison, Edward Spencer Beesley, and John Henry Bridges were all Wadham men.

18. Pembroke College

William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University from the year 1617, "the very picture of nobility," "a singular lover of learning and of the professours thereof," "the most universally loved and esteemed of any man of that age," whose portrait by Van Dyck and life-size statue in bronze (after Rubens) adorn the Bodleian Gallery, gave the college its name; he might have done more had he not died, somewhat suddenly, intestate. James I. stood for founder; but the foundation funds were furnished by the generous benefactions of Thomas Tesdale, and later, Richard Wightwicke.

Nor do the complications of the foundation end here. The college was built on the ruins of an ancient hall, whose unwritten history goes back into the region of conjecture. Anthony à Wood says that the hall, *Aula Lateportensis*, was, before the reign of Henry VI., called Segrym Hall. Then again, the first students of Tesdale were first settled at Balliol, which built Cæsar's Buildings to accommodate them, and there was a long law-suit, backed by the king's authority, to make Balliol reimburse monies left by Tesdale. For the king in his love of learning was anxious that the bequest should take the form of a separate foundation, so that he himself might figure as royal founder. Into these intricacies we do not propose to enter, but shall be content to give the broad outlines.

Thomas Tesdale was a rich, pious farmer and merchant

of Abingdon, who, losing his three children by death, began disposing of his money with a liberal hand. He was twice elected mayor, but for some unknown reason excused himself and paid the fine.

Dying, he left £5000 (worth ten times as much in our day) in trust to George Abbot, Bishop of London, and others, to found thirteen scholarships in Balliol College, or failing that, in University College or some other; and certain of the scholars were to be chosen from Abingdon School. Bishop Abbot, his friend, had been fellow of Balliol and master of University, hence his choice of these colleges.

Some of the money had already been handed over to Balliol to enable the college to provide the necessary accommodation, when another generous benefactor appeared on the scene, Richard Wightwicke, himself a Balliol man. Whereupon "it fell under consideration that it was a pity so great a bounty, substantial enough to stand of itself, should be adjected to a former foundation; whereupon a new college (formerly called *Broadgates* Hall in Oxford) was erected therewith by the name of *Pembroke* College."

Richard Wightwicke came of an old Staffordshire family, and graduating at Balliol, was made rector of St Martin's, Carfax. Afterwards he became chaplain to the unfortunate Lord Norreys, and finally secured the rich benefice of East Ilsley, where he lived to a ripe old age.

The college was opened with much ceremony and several speeches in August, 1624; the statutes were drawn up by six commissioners appointed by the king, and finally signed in 1628 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Pembroke, Richard Wightwicke, Vice-Chancellor Frewen, Eubule Thelwall, and the first Master, Thomas Clayton, who was also the last principal of Broadgates Hall.

The statutes exhibit no originality. We may describe them as a somewhat poor comment on those of the great

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford.]

The Front Quadrangle of Wadham College. The statues are those of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, and of the reigning King, James I.

[*To face p. 220.*

founders, shorn of all Catholic sentiment and practice. The master was to be in Anglican Orders, and the fellows were to proceed thereto in due course; but the fact that the first master was a layman would go to show that this statute was not to be taken too seriously, all the more so as there were no chaplains appointed. There were to be morning and evening prayers in the chapel or some other convenient place, and a catechetical lecture once a week, to be given by one of the doctors or bachelors in divinity of this or any other college, to be procured, if necessary, by the master. There is a provision to the effect that no one is to defend any error, heresy, or opinion whatever not approved of by the Anglican Church.

Until the year 1732, when the present chapel was opened, the college used the south aisle of St Aldate's for their morning and evening prayers. The advowson of the Church was bestowed upon the college by Charles I., but has since been acquired by the Simeon trustees. Mention is made of it in the proper place. Several principals and masters are buried herein.

The tomb of one of them (John Noble, who died in 1522), now removed to the chancel, represents him in gown, furred hood, and tonsured head.

Broadgates Hall was originally a dependency of St Frideswide's Priory, and here, according to Wood, boys received instruction even before the Norman Conquest.

Of the old hall buildings nothing now remains except the refectory, converted into the present library in the year 1846, when the new college hall was erected. The old library was a chamber over the aisle mentioned above, which the college inherited from Broadgates Hall, and which was stocked with books chiefly on canon and civil law, for which studies the "Lateportenses" were famous. The chamber was taken down as dangerous in 1842.

Many of the buildings of Broadgates Hall were falling into ruin when the master, fellows, and scholars of Pembroke

College took possession of it. But Thomas Clayton was a capable man, and at once set about restoring the buildings and extending the boundaries; and now, just as New College occupies the north-east corner of the city within the old wall, Pembroke holds the south-west corner and is built right on to the wall itself. But it was more limited as to its area, and lacked a Wykeham to make it as great as New College.

Thomas Clayton never took orders. He graduated at Balliol, then became a tutor at Gloucester Hall; afterwards he was Professor of Music at Gresham College, and resigned the post to become Regius Professor of Physic in his own University. It was he who with another eminent physician of Broadgates Hall, Edward Dawson by name, inaugurated the new Physic Garden on the site of the Jews' old burying-ground opposite Magdalen, and now known by a more dignified name. The founder of the garden was the Earl of Danby, the loyal elder brother of the regicide Danvers. The inscription on the gateway (1632) commemorates his benefaction. This garden was the first of its kind in England.

Clayton built the south and west sides of the front quadrangle, incorporating into the south side the twelfth-century wall; the old tenements of the east side, as also the forefront, were repaired and left standing. By the year 1694, however, these were taken down and the whole quadrangle completed, including the tower.

The chapel, an Ionic building, was as plain as a barn until the year 1884, when it was elaborately decorated at lavish expense under the direction of Charles E. Kemp, a member of the college. In the windows are represented SS. Bernard, Anselm, Jerome, and Cyril of Alexandria. King Charles I. is represented as a martyr, with axe, crown, and sceptre. Over the communion table is a picture by Rubens representing Our Lord, with St Teresa interceding for the souls in Purgatory. It seems altogether out of keeping

Photo.: Wheeler, Oxford

Pembroke College, from St Aldate's.

[*To face p.* 228.

with the traditions of the place, and was in fact originally painted for a convent of Carmelite nuns!

The chapel, with the wall of the tiny garden of the fellows, forms the south side of the back quadrangle; opposite are the common-room and bursary, with chambers for fellows and undergraduates, completed in 1846. The beautiful Gothic hall and tower, which forms the west side, were erected a little later. The quadrangle, at present overgrown with creepers, has a reposeful and picturesque appearance, in striking contrast with the ancient and somewhat sordid streets that limit it.

On the extreme east of the college buildings and facing St Aldate's Street (formerly Fish Street) is an interesting house erected by Wolsey, and called Wolsey's Spital or Almshouse. It was acquired by the college from Christ Church in the year 1888, and is now leased to the chaplain of the Catholic undergraduates. The old timber roof is said to have been brought from Oseney Abbey.

Broadgates Hall undoubtedly began as an irresponsible hostel, though no one can say when. In 1420, on account of the frequent fights and disorders between town and gown, and among the gownsmen themselves, came the order that all students were to live only in recognised and licensed halls or colleges.

Then, we may suppose, Broadgates got itself recognised and licensed, and appointed itself a principal: thus its more authentic history began.

Among its earliest notable men was Philip, afterwards Cardinal Repyngdon, who at first stoutly defended Wyclif's doctrines, and caused a great commotion in the University by doing so; afterwards he recanted, and made his formal submission at a synod held at St Frideswide's Priory. Thenceforward he as stoutly condemned this heresy, and in a statute of the University in 1400, is described as *clericus specialissimus illustrissimi Principis D. Regis Henrici.* He was in the year 1405 consecrated Bishop of Lincoln.

It was a former principal of the hall who stood foremost among that little army of heroic men, who endeavoured with their lives to turn the tide of the Protestant Reformation.

John Storey, afterwards beatified, was elected principal in 1537, being the "most noted civilian and canonist of his time": he was also the first chief moderator of the civil law lecture, established by Henry VIII.'s commissioners. As a member of parliament in Edward's reign, he was conspicuous by his bold opposition to the innovators. For a time he was compelled to seek safety in Flanders, but on Mary's accession he returned and became Chancellor of the dioceses of London and Oxford, and Dean of Arches. He was, as we have seen, the queen's proctor in the trial of Cranmer. Escaping to Antwerp on the accession of Elizabeth, he was, in flagrant violation of the law of nations, treacherously decoyed into an English merchant-vessel by its captain, a brother of the queen's archbishop, Matthew Parker, brought to England, and safely lodged in the Tower. On the walls of a cell in the Beauchamp Tower his name is rudely carved, presumably by himself. He could hardly expect mercy from Elizabeth, nor did he seek it. Again and again he refused to take the oath of supremacy, and went further than most other martyrs in declining to acknowledge her as his lawful queen. This he could justly do, for in the Low Countries he had accepted an appointment in the service of King Philip. The old man, heroic to the end, was, notwithstanding his seventy years, martyred at Tyburn with indescribable brutality on 1st June 1571, being dragged thither on a hurdle through the mire of the London streets. Afterwards his head was set up on London Bridge, and his four quarters on the gates of the city.

Edmund Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, was another eminent canonist of Broadgates. He is variously described as "a very fierce, furious angell of the bottomlesse pytt"; and on the other hand, "naturally a good-humoured

and merciful man," "not only not unkind, but long-suffering, considerate, and generous," and when committed to prison he "continued in a cheerful and contented condition till the time of his death." Two of his nephews, William and Thomas Darbyshire, were also educated at Broadgates Hall, Thomas becoming principal in 1556.

Thomas, deprived by Elizabeth for declining to take the oath, crossed the seas and entered the Society of Jesus; he became eminent as a theologian, being deputed to represent the Society at the Council of Trent, in matters concerning the Catholics of England. On his representations, the Council passed the decree, *De non adeundis hæreticorum ecclesiis.*

Another notable Broadgates man was Sir John Tregonwell, the friend of Erasmus and Wolsey. He was an eminent canonist, but a time-server. For he was a privy councillor with Cromwell, one of the visitors of the monasteries, receiving the abbey of Milton and other rich demesnes for his pains; yet a "zealous Papist" in the reign of Queen Mary. He died peacefully in his bed in 1565, and was buried in the abbey church.

Broadgates also may claim the epigrammatist, John Heywood, the friend of Sir Thomas More, whose happy fate he was not, however, brave enough to face. He denied the royal supremacy, but recanted at St Paul's Cross. However, the free practice of his religious convictions during the reign of Queen Mary, when he became a kind of poet-laureate, nerved him to better things; on the accession of Elizabeth, "he left the nation for religion sake, and settled in Mechlin. . . ." Both his sons became priests, and one of them, Jasper, a renowned Jesuit; his elder brother, Ellis (or Eliseus) joined the Society a few years later. Both were Oxford men, the former being fellow of Merton and then of All Souls, the latter of All Souls. Ellis remained as a professor abroad, but Jasper was sent, at the instance of Father Parsons, to England. Dr Allen describes him as the

most zealous, the most dexterous and successful "fisher of souls" that had ever crossed the troubled sea of England. On account of ill-health he was recalled; but his ship was driven back on the shores of England. He was captured and thrust into the Clink Prison. Every endeavour was made by the Privy Council to shake his faith; when the future martyrs Haydock, Fenn, and others were being tried for their lives at Westminster Hall, he was brought to witness their condemnation; a bishopric was offered him, but all to no purpose. His life was spared, it is thought, because he had been the queen's page; but he was banished from the realm. He died at Naples in the year 1598.

Among other great men of Broadgates may be mentioned Sir John Dryden, the uncle of the poet; George Peele, the English Ovid; Sir John Beaumont, "a gentleman of great learning, gravity, and worthiness"; Richard Corbet, prelate, jester, and poet; Richard Carew, the historian; and William Camden, "*historicus ille plane immortalis*"!

Of Pembroke College, as such, little more need be said. It possesses one of the touching letters of Charles I., begging a loan of the plate to be melted down in the mint set up in New Inn Hall; the college subscribed what it could in money, but there is no record of the plate. It sent sixty men to work at the fortifications.

Shortly after the occupation of Oxford by Cromwell, the first master of the college died; and the fellows, hearing that Henry Langley, the son of a shoemaker of Abingdon, was to be imposed upon them in his place, hastily elected Henry Wightwicke, one of their original number. In six weeks' time he was dislodged by one of the visitors named Eternity Tipping, and the "preaching minister" Langley put in his place. Not only the fellows and scholars, but even the servants were examined by the visitors. "Cornish and Langley, two fooles; Reynolds and Harrys, two knaves; Cheynell and rabbi Wilkinson, two madmen," as à Wood

stigmatises them. One of the servants, "honest Will Collier," retaliated by heading a conspiracy to seize both them and the garrison; but being accustomed to drink and be merry in his cups, the plot leaked out, and he soon found himself a prisoner in a room under New College Hall. Here the roundheads endeavoured to force him to betray his confederates by holding a light under his bound hands; but he broke away and escaped, and thus "saved the hangman a labour."

On the Restoration, Wightwicke was reinstated, and amongst other things, he ousted the chaplain, a "gracious person with an excellent gift of prayer"; and so, instead of "the outpouring of warm prayers," such as the college had long been accustomed to, the service of Common Prayer was recited "with incredible swiftness and confus'd rapidity."

But Puritanism lingered on and found its expression in a custom but lately abolished, but which still obtains at Christ Church: at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread and wine are brought to the worshippers as they sit in the stalls or pews. The custom was undoubtedly introduced as a protest against any sort of belief in the Real Presence.

Samuel Johnson, who came up as a commoner in 1728, occupied the second storey in the gateway tower, then the garret. His life has been too well and too often told to need more than the barest mention here. He felt his poverty keenly, but concealed his feelings under a boisterous good humour and wit, with an almost total disregard of conventionalities and rules. He abandoned lectures at Christ Church because he thought the men were looking at his broken boots; but flung down stairs the new pair, which a companion had charitably placed at his door, loudly demanding his own. Attributable to the same cause, may have been his rudeness in passing his tutor without doffing his cap; as also his protest when fined for neglecting a lecture. "Why, Sir, you have sconced me twopence for a lecture not worth a penny!" He left Oxford without taking his degree, as great men sometimes do; but it

was conferred later in 1755. His portrait by Reynolds hangs in the common-room, wherein also his teapot, holding two quarts, finds a worthy corner; in the library also is the desk on which he wrote his *Dictionary*. Johnson did not share the unreasoning prejudice of his fellow-countrymen against the Catholic Church. He is reported to have said: "I would be a Papist if I could. I have fear enough, but an obstinate rationality prevents me. I shall never be a Papist unless on the near approach of death, of which I have a very great terrour. . . ." Pembroke was the home of another writer of a dictionary, John Lemprière, who composed his popular *Classical Dictionary* while still an undergraduate; he was a native of Jersey, and was elected as scholar in 1785. Perhaps the fame of the great lexicographer fired his ambition.

Almost contemporary with Johnson (indeed he speaks of him as such, though he did not matriculate till 1732, when Johnson had gone down) was a young man of a very different type, who gained notoriety in spite of himself: the proto-Methodist, George Whitefield. A Puritan of the extreme type, he became the butt of many, but bore the indignities heaped upon him with heroic fortitude. It was inevitable that he should meet the brothers Wesley, then at Christ Church, and that, there being then no weekly communion service at Pembroke, he should brave the frowns and even some mud-throwing, to attend the weekly one in the Cathedral. In the end his humiliations won him sympathisers, and tended to keep alive the methodistical spirit within the college, though not to such an extravagant degree.

As may be surmised, Pembroke stood aloof from the tractarian movement, or furnished men like Drs Hatch and Stedman to oppose it; and yet it was a Pembroke man, Walter Meyers, who was Newman's tutor at Ealing, and imbued his pupil with his first deep religious impressions; we owe it to him that Newman came to Oxford rather than to Cambridge. He was an evanglical of the old type.

But even Pembroke numbers a few converts to Catholicity. Not the least distinguished was that remarkable and somewhat eccentric man, Robert Stephen Hawker, the poet and parson of Morwenstow, who in 1827 had won the Newdigate.

A High-Churchman of pronounced views but belonging to no party (he was probably too original and masterful for any party), he ruled his wild, country, storm-blown parish with episcopal authority, wrote vigorous verse on the Incarnation, the Sacred Passion, Our Blessed Lady, and other subjects, and was finally received into the Church on his death-bed. He is, perhaps, best known as the author of the stirring ballad which he wrote to fit the old Cornish refrain:

"And must Trelawny die?
There's twenty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why."[1]

Arnold Toynbee, the philanthropist, matriculated here in 1873, but was spirited off to Balliol by Dr Jowett, who was quick to recognise that he was no ordinary man.

19. Worcester College

Worcester, like several other colleges, has had an antecedent history: rather, it has had two antecedent academic histories, first as Gloucester College under the Benedictines, and then as Gloucester Hall under more or less private management. The first, beginning in the year 1275, just after the foundation of Merton, ended, as we have seen, with the Reformation; the second, beginning with White's foundation in 1560, merged, as we shall see, into that of the present college in 1714. Then it was that the revised code of statutes were put in force, and the last principal of the hall became the

[1] Hawker seems to have been mistaken in thinking that the Trelawny referred to was the Whig bishop of James II.'s time. It was more probably his grandfather, Sir John Trelawny, one of Charles I.'s most devoted adherents, imprisoned by the Parliament in 1628.

provost of the college. But before this happy result was achieved, there were quarrels and law-suits into which we do not intend to enter; suffice to say that when Sir Thomas Cookes of Bentley Pauncefote expressed his intention of devoting £10,000 to learning in Oxford, there were many colleges and halls ready to prove themselves most eligible for the bounty. For instance, inasmuch as Sir Thomas was a Worcestershire man, Balliol was ready to show that it was the most devoted to that county, so much so that, it affirmed, it was often called "Worcester College." This was special pleading indeed. Finally, contention between Balliol and Gloucester Hall ran so high, that Sir Thomas threatened to spend the money in building workhouses. In the end, however, the baronet, dying, left the money to trustees, among whom were the vice-chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Worcester and Oxford, who after much difficulty succeeded in purchasing Gloucester Hall in fee simple from St John's, and so, in the year 1714, founded the new college.

Mention has already been made of Gloucester College, the Benedictine foundation. It was not a college in our present acceptation of the term in Oxford, being governed by a prior under monastic rule, whose subjects owed obedience also to the priors or abbots of places whence they had come to study in Oxford. The students were all monks, picked men from the various Benedictine houses in England; of which houses, fifteen at least held *cameræ* or cells in this college. A picturesque line of these cells is still standing, and form the south side of the present quadrangle; it was not, however, their picturesqueness nor antiquity that saved them from being swept away when the rest of the quadrangle was built in the middle of the eighteenth century, but lack of funds: a penury for which we may be grateful. From the arms over the doors of these lodgings they have been variously assigned. Over the door of the one farthest west is an empty niche, to the

right of which is a device of three cups or chalices, and on the left, a comb and a tun surmounted by a mitre, ascribed to William Compton, the Abbot of Pershore. The next, eastwards (now No. 8 staircase) is ascribed to Westminster; the central one, to Winchcombe and Ramsey; the one with a plain cross to Norwich or Canterbury;[1] and the last, on which is a "griffin segreant," to St Alban's, or to Malmesbury.

To the east of these *mansiones* is a small quadrangle, also of monastic origin, but much renovated, with the undignified name of "Pump Quad." The picturesque door in the south-east corner and the window above should be noted.

On the north, beyond the north side of the quadrangle, are other monastic houses, equally picturesque, assigned to Abingdon and Westminster.

As to the rest of the buildings: the library over the massive cloister was erected in 1746 from the plans, and at the expense of Dr Clarke of All Souls, who was so great a benefactor as to be described on the loving-cup he bequeathed to the college as "almost our founder." At right angles with the library, and forming a three-sided entrance quadrangle, are the chapel on the north and the hall on the south. There is rightly no gateway tower; now that the heads of colleges are married and therefore require a larger lodging than the tower affords, and now students, in this peace-loving age, are free from attack, gateway towers may be said to be an anachronism. The chapel, which was begun in 1720, took sixty years in completing, and is in the best style of the Renaissance. In it are four gilt statues of the evangelists, and besides much decoration representing the *Benedicite* and *Te Deum*. The "white-robed army of martyrs" is represented by the Holy Innocents, Jerome of Prague, Latimer, and Hooper; the "Holy Church throughout all the world" by SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Helen, Monica, Charlemagne, Benedict, Catherine of Siena,

[1] (The Norwich device was a sable cross on an argent ground; Canterbury, a cross argent on a sable ground.)

Elizabeth of Hungary, and Thomas Aquinas with Wyclif, Luther, and Pascal—a curious assemblage indeed!

We must not omit to mention the old monastic gateway in the wall to the north of the college giving entrance into what is now the fellows' garden. The college gardens, than which are none more beautiful, were purchased in 1741; the charming lake was constructed later.

The history of Gloucester Hall is soon told, for the monks, true to their motto and the monastic spirit, had little or nothing to do with public affairs; its eminent men, such as Edmund de Bromfield, Thomas Myling, John Lydgate, Thomas Winchcombe, and John Whethamsted, were hardly known outside their own order. Occasionally, in the annals of the University, mention is made of a turbulent monk or so, and some such are recorded as belonging to Gloucester College; but they are the exceptions that prove the rule. About the time of the Reformation these isolated cases were made the very worst of, in order to present some pretext for universal disbanding.

During this persecution, three Gloucester College men stand out: John Feckenham, Thomas Marshall, and John Stanywell. The former was made mitred abbot of Westminster on the restoration of that religious house under Queen Mary. In the next reign he was dispossessed, and eventually, after being taken from one prison to another, died at Wisbech Castle in 1585. He was so universally loved that Elizabeth offered him the primacy on condition of his taking the oath of supremacy. It was through him that the historic Anglo-Benedictine congregation was preserved. As abbot of Westminster, under Queen Mary, he received into the order a young monk, Dom Sigebert Buckley, who in his old age, as the sole remaining representative of the English Benedictines, was to transmit the succession to a younger generation. At the age of ninety, in 1607, in a cell of the Gatehouse prison, Dom Sigebert clothed with the habit of St Benedict two

secular priests seeking admission to the order, and thus secured the perpetuation of the traditions and spirit of the congregation. Thus this great monastic line has never been broken since Augustine landed at Ebbsfleet. Thomas Marshall, who took his doctor's degree in this hall in 1515, became a Benedictine, and the last abbot of Colchester: he was martyred 1st December 1539, for denying the royal supremacy in matters spiritual. John Stanywell, who had been prior of the college, declining to take the oath, was mercifully allowed to retire into private life. Another Gloucester Hall man to give his life for the same cause, was Richard Simpson, a secular priest. When under imprisonment, he at first shewed some weakness: but recovering himself, died a glorious death at Derby in 1587, in company with Father Nicholas Garlick, "the apostle of the Peak." A contemporary ballad commemorates the event:

"When Garlick did the ladder kiss,
And Sympson after hie,
Methought that there St Andrew was
Desirous for to die.

. . . . . .

For what if Sympson seemed to yield,
For doubt and dread to die;
He rose again and won the field,
And died most constantly.

His watching, fasting, shirt of hair,
His speech and death and all,
Do record give, do witness bear,
He wailed his former fall."

Antony Kitchin, another Gloucester man, Bishop of Llandaff at the accession of Elizabeth, was not so firm. He signed the act of supremacy. But it must be stated to his credit that he refused to have anything to do with the consecration of Matthew Parker. The accusation made against him by Wood that he wasted the property of his see may be dismissed.

In all probability, there was little or nothing to waste after Henry's commissioners had visited it. The charge of wasting trust-moneys was often made without justification; it was brought, as we have seen, against Wolsey, and later, against Father R. Parsons.

After the dissolution the college fell into various hands, and for awhile was the residence of the newly created Bishop of Oxford, Dr King. It was also a bone of contention between several claimants, and the object of much litigation. Then it was purchased by Sir Thomas White, who at first intended it for his new foundation of St John the Baptist; a dream, as we have already seen, determined him otherwise. Eventually he leased the place to William Stocke, a fellow of St John's, who opened it as a hall on St John the Baptist's Day, 1560. It was named St John the Baptist's Hall; but the voice of tradition proved too strong, and it has always been known as Gloucester Hall. Its career as such stands in marked contrast to the even tenor of its former history.

Stocke, on being elected as president of St John's, handed over the post of principal to William Palmer, a Catholic. In a short time, however, Stocke, being also a Catholic, though a silent one, resigned his office through fear of apprehension, and became once more the principal of the hall. In 1573 he quietly retired from this position also, and permitted Sir George Peckham to live in his lodgings: an act which set a precedent, and brought other gentlemen to live in the hall who were not students, and several ladies as well.

Here in 1572 resided George Blackwell, having taken his degree in arts and divinity. He is generally known as Archpriest Blackwell, inasmuch as he was appointed by the then Pope as superior of the secular clergy. He was renowned for his erudition, and the cleverness with which he so managed his affairs as to avoid detection. Writes one of the government spies to Cecil: "Their letter passeth by divers

conveyances, and with such caution, as for my life I could never come to the intercepting of any of them, albeit I have used therein no small vigilance."

Unfortunately, when eventually he was seized, he not only signed an oath of allegiance and supremacy, containing much that from a Catholic standpoint was inadmissible, but openly defended it in spite of its formal condemnation in two papal briefs, and a letter written to him personally by the greatest theologian of the time, Cardinal Bellarmine. He was courageously opposed by another Gloucester Hall man, Dr William Bishop, who was afterwards consecrated under the title of Bishop of Chalcedon, as the first missionary bishop. He had proved his worth by several painful imprisonments endured for the faith; but after his consecration necessarily lived in great retirement.

The lodgings of the principal were occupied by Sir William and Lady Catesby after Sir George Peckham had vacated them; and their two sons were *alumni* of the hall. Sir William was more than once fined for recusancy; but he was no longer living when his son Robert, by instigating the Gunpowder Plot, gave the Government an excuse for making the persecution of Catholics even fiercer than before.

By far the most remarkable head of the house was Benjamin Woodroffe, a Westminster boy, who was successively student, canon, sub-dean and canon of Christ Church, and became the principal of the hall in 1692. He tried, might and main, to secure the benefaction of Sir Thomas Cookes, but failed. He turned the hall into a school for Greek students, and actually prevailed upon the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople to send him scholars. They were to converse for the first two years in ancient Greek, then in Latin, and finally in Hebrew. They were to study, in particular, Aristotle and the Greek scholiasts, and the debated points of theology between the Romans (Catholics) and the Greeks. The scheme turned out unsatisfactorily,

and the patriarchs withdrew their support. Equally unfortunate was Woodroffe in certain speculations about property to which he had, or thought he had, rights in virtue of his marriage with an heiress, Mary Marbury; he actually died in the Fleet Prison.

Shortly after his death, a new code of statutes were drawn up; St John's came to terms as regards the lease, and Worcester College was founded.

Among Worcester's greatest men may be mentioned Thomas de Quincey, who, matriculating in the year 1803, remained on the college books until 1816. Francis William Newman, the cardinal's younger brother, came to Worcester through the kindness of his brother, and distinguished himself in the mathematical school.

20. Hertford College

As a college, Hertford dates only from 1874; but, like Brasenose, Pembroke, and Worcester, it is the development of an ancient hall, commonly called Hart Hall. But in its development it swallowed up four others: Black Hall, Shield Hall, Arthur Hall, and Cat Hall. Of the ancient buildings nothing now remains. The oldest part is an Elizabethan hall, now the library; the present hall being built in 1889. The part of the front quadrangle is, opposite the gateway, Jacobean. The chapel on the south-east corner was dedicated in 1716. The frontage is not dignified: as Mr J. Wells truly says, it is suggestive of a private hotel.

As early as the year 1283, Elias of Hertford purchased a hall and gave it his own name. This was in the days when halls were simply private lodging-houses, accountable to no one for their management: a freedom which was fruitful in squabbles and brawls.

Elias of Hertford chose for his sign and seal a hart's head with a cross between the antlers. The college adopts the same device.

Hart or Harts Hall has no written history: it had indeed a chequered career, passing into various hands. Exeter College, it will be remembered, began here; and later, William de Wykeham housed here his scholars while his own college was building. More than once it was actually deserted. Dr Newton, who was elected principal in 1710, made vigorous and unceasing effort to erect it into a college, but unsuccessfully. When in 1820 some of the buildings fell down in Cat Street, the hall was officially declared to be no longer in existence, and the University, by letters patent, were put in possession of the buildings in trust for Magdalen Hall, which removed bodily therein from its ancient site near Magdalen College. Needless to say, these various changes were not effected without much undignified squabbling, which we may leave entirely alone. The present stable establishment is due to the munificence of Thomas Charles Baring, M.P., who is honoured as the founder.

Hart Hall can boast at least one great man, John Sheldon, whose literary acumen and wide range of knowledge earned for him the title of "the great dictator of learning of the English nation."

But better still, the hall furnished four confessors of the faith: Richard Holtby, Henry Fitzsimon, John Bridgewater, and Alexander Briant. Holtby was a tutor here in 1574, and a Catholic at heart. He had Briant for his pupil, whom he converted to the Catholic faith. Three years later he crossed over to Douai, where he was reconciled to the Church, and ordained priest. At Pont-à-Mousson he attended the plague-stricken, along with thirteen companions, ten of whom he buried with his own hands. He was then sent back to England, and laboured for years on this dangerous mission.

Alexander Briant, crossing over to Rheims, was ordained priest in 1578. Returning to England, he was caught by a party who were eagerly in search of Father Parsons. In the Tower he suffered inhuman tortures, for it was known

that he had been a companion of Parsons. He had needles thrust under his nails, was racked again and again to the dislocation of his joints, and subjected to the horrible "scavenger's daughter"; but nothing would induce him to betray his friend. He bore his suffering cheerfully, and laughed at his torturers, to their exasperation. Finally, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, with Fathers Campion and Sherwin, at Tyburn, on 1st December 1581. The Ven. Thomas Hemerford, another martyr (1584), took his B.C.L. degree at Hart Hall in 1575.

Henry Fitzsimon, after his conversion, for some time taught philosophy at Louvain, but was then sent, at his earnest request, to the Irish Mission, in the year 1597. Arrested, he spent five years in gaol, and was then condemned to perpetual banishment.

John Bridgewater has already been mentioned as rector of Lincoln, who in the stormy times of Elizabeth endeavoured, as an unobtrusive Catholic, to keep the faith alive within the college.

The poet, Dr John Donne, was likewise of this college. In his youth he was a practising Catholic, but forsook the faith. His brother died a martyr.

To the north of the present still unfinished frontage is an octagonal remnant, which may have originally been one of the "bastions of the inner city wall." It is at present used as a shop, but we believe it has been acquired by the college, and will be made to do duty as the lodge of the new quadrangle, giving another note of antiquity to the whole.

But a special interest to Catholics lies in the fact that, whatever its original purpose, it was certainly afterwards the shrine of Our Lady by the Smyth Gate, as the ancient doorway, lately identified, bears witness. Here, in mediæval times, the undergraduate about to take his anxious part in the schools opposite, would come to pay his devotions,

Photo.: H. Giles, Oxford.]

Old Monastic Buildings, Worcester College (see p. 231).

[*To face p.* 240.

or make his vows to the glorious Queen of Heaven, the *Sedes Sapientiæ*.

The head of the gateway, with tabernacle work beautifully carved, is divided into five panels. On the left kneels Our Lady, on the right is St Gabriel, in the panel before Our Lady is a prie-dieu with an open book, in the central panel a vase from which undoubtedly sprung the lily, emblematic of her purity, and in front of St Gabriel is a rough fragment of stone showing where once was carved the scroll, "Ave Maria."

This chapel, as has been pointed out by Ingram in his *Memorials of Oxford*, was erroneously called the Chapel of St Catharine, from the present name of the street; but the ancient name of the street was Cats Street.

21. Keble College

It is hardly too much to say that *The Christian Year* built the college which bears the author's name. For, as soon as the project was put forward and an appeal made for subscriptions, £500,000 was realised. Keble had just died. By his poems he had won his way into the hearts of thousands.

Long before this, there had been a feeling among High Anglicans that, in face of the gradual breaking-down of the religious tests, some definite step ought to be taken to preserve the position of the Church of England in the University, which had proved itself most loyal to Anglican traditions.

Foremost among the promoters was Newman's friend, Charles Marriott, fellow of Oriel, who had been promoted to St Mary's in his place. However, he died prematurely in 1858. Not so the scheme, which was revived again in 1865, with the result we have seen. In 1870 the college was opened.

Keble, inasmuch as it does not conform with ordinary college regulations, is called a college only by courtesy. In the first place, it excludes all except members of the Established Church. Then, it is not a self-governing body, but is controlled by a board representative of the subscribers, of which the Bishop of London is the president. There are no fellows, but the board appoints the warden, and the warden the tutors. There are differences also in minor matters: for instance, all the meals are taken together in the dining-hall. The rooms, which are small, are let furnished, no extra furniture being allowed without permission. In short, attempt was made to re-establish among students the original spirit of simplicity and economy.

As to the buildings, perhaps it will be sufficient to say that they find favour with but few; most condemn them. It was a bold thing to build in Oxford a college of brick; perhaps Butterfield alone would have dared to do it. Had the architect even confined himself to modest red bricks, many would have forgiven him on the score of economy, but when he attempted a barbaric decoration by the introduction of bricks of a louder and different hue, he forfeited in the minds of most even this title of consideration. The chapel, however, is particularly dignified in its conception. There has been added a side-chapel, in memory of the eminent preacher, Dr Liddon. Herein hangs the famous painting of Holman Hunt, *The Light of the World*, a picture which, however perfect in its technique, is singularly ineffectual in the impression it is intended to convey.

V

MODERN OXFORD

THE Royal Commission of Inquiry in the year 1850 may be said to mark an entirely new epoch in the history of the city and University. Some time before this there had been undoubted signs of a revival of intellectual life: a reawakening out of the academic torpor into which the University had fallen.

Oxford was destined to live again, but not according to the laws of its previous existence; then the University was, so to speak, the handmaid of the Church. Now, theology holds a very secondary place, and the time may come when it will perforce be content to retain any sort of recognition at all.

All this has come about very gradually. The first step was the relaxation to some extent of clerical restrictions in the case of fellows and tutors, though for a time assent to the Thirty-nine Articles was required of those who wished to proceed to their M.A. degree. Then all the colleges, following the example of Oriel, threw their scholarships open, and even the privileges granted to founder's kin were abolished. Then followed the permission of fellows to marry. The Test Act of Mr Gladstone in 1871 removed the last objections to the influx of non-Anglicans into the University life. Then the invidious marks between the

University and the City were swept away, though the former retained its own courts. Nor has the importance given to athletics been without its influence upon the altered conditions of life and ideals.

It was only natural that after the removal of the religious tests there should have been an influx of Nonconformists and others. The Congregationalists in 1889 opened Mansfield College in a new thoroughfare connecting South Parks Road with Holywell Street. It is not a college in the Oxford use of the word, being intended for graduates of their own manner of thinking, who intend to prepare for their ministry. The buildings erected about an open quadrangle are certainly imposing, and bear comparison with the best of modern Oxford. Origen, St Augustine, and St Athanasius are represented by statues in niches about the doorway of the chapel; within are several Protestant divines, Luther, Bunyan, and others.

On the same road, between it and the new buildings of New College, stands Manchester College, a similar institution erected by the Unitarians, and opened in 1893.

Cardinal Newman formulated a scheme for establishing a Catholic college, and even acquired the ground on which Wellington Square is now partly built; but it was adjudged by Propaganda that the time was not yet ripe for such a venture, and Catholic parents were dissuaded from sending their sons to the national Universities. Time has justified these seeming harsh measures, for with the gradually growing spirit of tolerance it has been possible to send Catholics to the ancient colleges, a far wiser policy. The Benedictines, Franciscans, and Jesuits have opened private halls for their own students.

The University is governed by three separate assemblies: the Hebdomadal Council, which alone has the power of initiating reforms or legislative acts; Congregation, which has the power of rejecting or emending such acts; and

Convocation, to which all acts relative to the whole body must be finally submitted. The Hebdomadal Council consists of the vice-chancellor, two proctors, and eighteen members elected by Congregation.

In the earliest times, the bishop of the diocese was the head of the University; but inasmuch as his see of Lincoln was so far away, he appointed a chancellor to act in his place; later on, in Reformation times, the chancellor became the head, and becoming great, appointed a vice-chancellor to act for him. Until the election of the present chancellor, Lord Curzon, that high office had long become a mere honorary distinction. The vice-chancellor reigned supreme. Lord Curzon, however, has taken an active part in University government. The vice-chancellor holds office for a year, but the council have the power of re-electing him three times: a course which is more generally pursued. The head of each college succeeds to the honour in turns.

Congregation consists of all Masters of Arts who retain their names on their college books and reside within the city; Convocation consists of all Masters of Arts who retain their names on their college books, no matter where they reside.

There are about three thousand undergraduates, one thousand graduates who are fellows, tutors, or officials of the colleges or University, and about six thousand graduates who keep their names on their college books.

Besides the ordinary B.A. degree (to obtain which a residence of three years is necessary, as well as the University examinations), "Research Degrees" are now given. Candidates for such must reside for two years, and must be graduates of other universities, or "give evidence of having received a good general education." At the end of their two years they must present themselves for examination, or submit a dissertation on some approved subject which, if considered sufficient, will entitle them to receive the title of B.Litt., or B.Sc.

Diplomas are also granted to women students, who are now allowed to attend public lectures and sit for all examinations. There are now about three hundred of such students who reside in recognised, but not affiliated halls. Of these, Somerville Hall, the entrance to which is south of the Radcliffe Infirmary, was opened in 1879; Lady Margaret Hall, founded in the same year, and St Hugh's Hall, founded in 1886, are both situated in Norham Gardens, off the Banbury Road; in Norham Road, adjacent, is Norham Hall, a place of study for foreigners; St Hilda's Hall is situated in Cowley Place over Magdalen Bridge, and was established in 1893. For Catholic ladies, the Nuns of the Holy Child have lately founded a hall, St Frideswide's, at the juncture of St Cross Street and South Parks Road. This hall is most beautifully situated beside the south-east corner of the parks and the entrance to "Mesopotamia"—the path between the two streams of the Cherwell.

Ruskin Hall, an institution founded in 1899 for workingmen by an American gentleman, Mr Vrooman, claims notice here. Its temporary premises are in Worcester Place.

The Museum Buildings were opened in 1860. Since that time additions have been continually made, until at the present time there is a group of buildings, pleasingly varied in design, fair in architectural merit, and solid in structure, such as no other university possesses.

The New Municipal Buildings, with Town Hall, Assembly Rooms, and Free Library were erected at great cost in 1893, and opened by the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII., four years later. They add dignity to St Aldate's, and are satisfactory in every way. Almost opposite is the Post Office, also new, being built in 1888 and enlarged in 1903.

On the north-east corner of Beaumont Street is a grand pile of building in the Renaissance style, comprising the Taylor Institution, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Univer-

sity Picture Gallery. These were erected in 1845 (according to the bequest of Sir Robert Taylor, an architect and alderman of London, who died in 1792) for "the teaching and improving knowledge of the European languages."

The new Ashmolean Museum, entered from Beaumont Street, includes the Fine Art Galleries and the Antiquarium. This latter section, translated from the old Ashmolean in the Broad, contains, among other objects of interest, what is known as King Alfred's jewel, discovered at Athelney in 1673, and presented in 1718, an enamelled figure of the king, set in gold, with an Anglo-Saxon inscription; the sword of state, supposed to have been presented to King Henry VIII. by the Pope, with his new title of "Defender of the Faith"; and the lantern of Guy Fawkes. The old Ashmolean Museum in the Broad was built by the University in the year 1683, to contain the collection of curiosities brought together in the reign of Charles I. by the first gardener of the Oxford Botanical Gardens, John Tradescant, and known as "Tradescant's Ark." The collection was bequeathed to the antiquary, Elias Ashmole, who made it over to the University.

That Oxford holds so high a place as Anthony à Wood affirms, among the towns which hastened to foster the art of printing, may be doubted; but it is certain that the *Exposicio sancti Jeromini in simbolum apostolorum* by Rufinus of Aquileia, was issued from the Oxford press in 1468 (or 1478). The first press was a private enterprise. The first University press occupied a room in the Sheldonian Theatre. In the year 1724 the University, from the proceeds of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, the copyright of which had been presented by his son, erected the Clarendon Buildings as the home of the press. Here it remained for a hundred years, when the present more commodious and somewhat less ornate buildings were erected in Walton Street.

Opposite the old Clarendon Buildings, now used as University offices, is the Indian Institute. It was erected in the

year 1884, "for fostering and facilitating Indian studies": to "make Englishmen, and even Indians themselves, appreciate better than they had done before the languages, literature, and industries of India; to qualify young Englishmen for Indian careers, and young Indians to serve their country in the most effective manner." It has never proved a brilliant success, for the simple reason that Englishmen, who eventually decide upon a career of this kind, are generally content to leave things Indian alone until they have completed their Oxford course; while Indians "who come to us for training and instruction," are generally too engrossed in other matters to spare the time; at least, while they remain in Oxford.

In the year 1841, the Low Church party in Oxford erected what is called the "Martyrs' Memorial," in honour of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, as a protest against the Tractarians and their endeavour to introduce Catholic teaching into the National Church. Sir Gilbert Scott was the designer; but it is, strangely enough, a copy of one of the several beautiful crosses raised by Edward to the memory of his good Queen Eleanor. Would the Reformers themselves have tolerated the cross by which it is surmounted? is a question that one may not unnaturally ask.

It is safe to say that though Oxford, only a few years ago, declined to accept a statue of Newman, it would not now go out of its way to honour men so alien to its better spirit as were Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: for the past fifty years have wrought great changes in the direction of toleration and liberty of thought. What may be the issue of these changes, it were at present too early to prognosticate.

But those who know and love their *Alma mater* hopefully believe that, while with an unerring judgment she seizes and assimilates all that is good in the future that is before her, she will not loosen her grip upon the best traditions of her past.

Modern Oxford, from Magdalen Tower.

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